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NOTES AND NEWS.

THE Vice-Chancellor of the University of Manchester (Sir John S. B. Stopford, F.R.S., F.R.C.P., M.D., D.Sc., Sc.D.), again this year, has issued to his Fellow Graduates a message in the form of a printed letter, in which he has communicated much news of the activities and aims of the University.

THE UNI-  
VERSITY OF  
MANCHESTER.

We print this letter in full, for we are assured by many readers of the BULLETIN, especially those overseas, including many graduates, that pages devoted to news of the doings of the University are very welcome since, in many cases, it is their only means of keeping in touch with their Alma Mater :

“ DEAR FELLOW GRADUATE,

“ The time has come round for me to send you some news of the University, which must again be in brief form.

“ Whilst the number of students in attendance during the past session showed an increase of approximately 150, there has been a further depletion of the teaching staff owing to alteration of the age of deferment which has affected chiefly the Faculties of Arts, Law and Education.

“ In consequence, everyone has had to undertake additional burdens, and this has been done willingly and loyally by all.

“ A more serious problem has been created by the restrictions now imposed with regard to the conditions of entry and the time during which students may remain at the University. Conditions vary in the different Faculties and for men and women. Admission to the Faculty of Medicine is governed by a quota system imposed by the Ministry of Health, and both men and women are permitted to complete the full course provided certain conditions are observed. In the Faculties of

Science and Technology the men under the jurisdiction of the Joint Recruiting Board, unless they come up at an unusually early age, must now complete their courses in two years and three months. The men in the Faculty of Arts are normally only permitted to stay for three terms. In future, women, unless they enter earlier than usual, and with a few exceptions, will be allowed two years, but those accepted by the Board of Education will be able to take the Teacher's Diploma course in addition. Since frequent changes in the regulations are being made, it may well be that the above conditions have been modified before this letter reaches you. To meet the present regulations we have instituted an additional fourth term during the Summer months of July, August and early September in all Faculties except Medicine and Theology. This will permit the men in Science and Technology to complete the full nine terms' work in the limited time now allowed, and will enable those who are to become teachers to attend the complete undergraduate and diploma courses in three years instead of four. It will speed up the production of trained scientists and teachers who are in such urgent demand in the national interest, and at the same time give the students the fullest opportunities in the limited time available. Although under normal conditions the introduction of a four-term scheme would be open to criticism on educational grounds, in the present circumstances we are convinced that it is the right thing to do in the interest of the students as well as in the national interest.

"During the past session male students have had to undertake part-time national service in the Senior Training Corps or Air Squadron (in approved cases in the Home Guard or Civil Defence), and one day a week has been set aside for this purpose. To compensate for the loss of these days for teaching purposes it was necessary to make some adjustments in the length of the terms, and teaching continued throughout Whit week. Although the women students are not obliged by the Government to undertake part-time national service, some months ago the Women's Union instituted a compulsory scheme, and every woman student, unless exempted owing to special circumstances, is now giving five hours a week to work of national importance



The scheme has been well organized, and Miss Crump and others have given invaluable help. Each student can choose from the following list the service she desires to undertake. Service in our own Cafeteria, the making of camouflage nets, clerical work, club work and assistance in Play Centres, service in First Aid Posts, cleaning in hospitals, bed-making at Y.M.C.A., industrial work, toy-making and vegetable gardening.

“ From what I have stated it will be clear that both staff and students are very fully occupied, but this has not prevented us giving thought to post-war reconstruction and development. We wish to be prepared and avoid the mistakes which were made during the period of reaction and excitement succeeding the last war, and we believe that it is good for our souls to think about future policy at a time when the opportunities for development and expansion are for obvious reasons so restricted. The Senate has received a first report, and after general discussion remitted the whole subject to a Committee of Deans to be fully thrashed out. This Committee has had a number of most interesting meetings and many fundamental points of great significance and importance are under consideration. Our attention has not been confined to staff, buildings, equipment and new subjects, but often to our primary objectives and the purposes of a civic university. We are much concerned about improvements in our corporate life and the influence upon students other than that in the classroom or laboratory. So far these discussions have been confined to the teachers in the University, and in war-time we cannot expect to get much help from those outside our community with special knowledge and experience in industry, commerce and the professions. We very much hope that at a later stage we may have the benefit of advice from our many friends in these spheres. It is realized that such advice is of supreme value, particularly in certain fields. Engineering is a good example, where we have two large schools, one in the Faculty of Science and the other in the Faculty of Technology, situated in the midst of perhaps the largest engineering centre in the world. With these resources and a much closer association between the two departments and industry, it ought to be possible for us in Manchester

to create the finest engineering school in the country. What has been said with regard to engineering is applicable to several other subjects, and we are determined to take full advantage of our exceptional resources and opportunities.

“The Extra-Mural Department has had the most strenuous year in its history. In the case of this department the war has provided new opportunities as well as difficulties, and Mr. Waller, the Director, and his colleagues have seized these and perhaps laid the foundations for important developments in Adult Education for the post-war period. The Tutorial classes, in collaboration with the W.E.A., have continued practically undiminished although some of the classes are smaller than usual. The annual reception was held at the end of April, when over 1,000 attended, and the address in the evening was given by Principal Nicholson of University College, Hull. Extension courses and lectures have been conducted in many places in the district, and the attendances in spite of the black-out have been unusually high. At the University an exceptional number of extension courses have been held, and from the following list it will be seen that we have attempted to offer to the public information about matters which occupy most urgent attention to-day: The United States of America, Soviet Russia, Town and Country Planning for the Future, The Arab World, and Jews in the Modern World. A number of courses intended to help doctors, nurses, chemists, managers and foremen in the great war industries of the neighbourhood have been well attended and appreciated. An increasing demand is now arising for lectures designed to help teachers who are responsible for religious instruction in the Schools. Courses for this purpose have been given regularly at the University before and during the war, but more ambitious plans are contemplated for the future. Recently, Professor Manson has conducted a highly successful series of lectures at Burnley, and shortly he is to give a course under the auspices of the Lancashire County authority.

“A new venture has been the arrangement of lunch-time talks for the staff of an industrial firm on the north side of the city. These have been given every week, and the work is likely



to increase. In addition, isolated lectures have been provided at Royal Ordnance Factories. In my letter last year I mentioned the growing programme of educational work for H.M. Forces. As you will remember, it is a joint effort in which the University co-operates with local educational authorities, the W.E.A. and other organizations concerned with adult education. Manchester was, I believe, the first to start such a service, but it is now organized throughout the country under Regional Committees and a central council over which Sir Walter Moberly presides. Much could be said about this effort, but space will only permit me to state that now some 60-70 lectures, talks and demonstrations are given weekly in camps and depots in our region, and between October 1st and March 31st 1,999 events were provided. A Music Club is also meeting weekly at the Y.M.C.A., and a Brains Trust, composed of some of the brightest members of the staff, from time to time visits Army camps and R.A.F. stations in the district.

“ In view of the considerable expansion in the demand for nursery and school facilities for young children, the Faculty of Education organized during the Michaelmas and Lent terms a most successful course for Teachers in Nursery and Infant Schools. We were embarrassed by the number who applied to attend, and had to limit the number accepted to 56. The following extract from a letter to Professor Oliver from one of those attending the course is of interest and shows how much it was appreciated : ‘ I should like to tell you how much I am enjoying the course. Teachers in elementary schools tend to become a very isolated class, much preoccupied with expediences and narrow practical details. This link with the University and the contact with the broader issues has given many of us a new vision and refreshing stimulus. Thank you very much.’ It is probable that the course will be repeated during the coming session.

“ Perhaps you might like to hear about recent developments in Horticulture. This department was founded by Professor Weiss, and we owe much to him and to the generous support given by the Royal Botanical and Horticultural Society of Manchester and the Northern Counties. A generous gift of

£69,000 some six or seven years ago from this body enabled us to extend greatly and remodel the department, which has two main objects : (i) to undertake research in Horticulture and to pay particular attention to problems of interest to practical growers in the north, and (ii) the education and training of working gardeners. To achieve these objects a lectureship was instituted about six years ago, and a two-year course in Horticulture for working gardeners has been given since 1937. Maintenance grants for a limited number of working gardeners are offered, and in addition to the small experimental plot in Fallowfield, we have recently purchased about 15 acres of land near Chelford which is being developed. In the near future it is proposed to hold an open day, when this new experimental ground in Cheshire will be open for inspection. At the last meeting of the Court a certificate in Horticulture was approved, and this will provide an encouragement to those taking the two-year course in the subject. We have been impressed by the special problems of the practical growers in the north, and since the research work done elsewhere is mainly directed to the problems of the south, we have found that we have a most useful and important function to perform.

“For the first time since the outbreak of war we celebrated Founder’s Day on May 20th, when the following Honorary Degrees were conferred :

*Doctor of Laws.*

Dr. James Murray Crofts.

Mr. John Maynard Keynes (now Lord Keynes).

Professor William Henry Lang.

Mr. Benjamin Seebohm Rowntree.

*Doctor of Letters.*

Sir Richard Winn Livingstone.

*Doctor of Science.*

Dr. Francis Hugh Adam Marshall.

Lord Keynes and Sir Richard Livingstone replied on behalf of the new graduates and gave stimulating addresses.



“At the degree ceremonies in July the Honorary Degree of M.A. was conferred upon Mr. Walter Cobbett, Mr. H. N. Grundy, Mr. Joseph Hallsworth and Miss Margaret Pilkington; and that of M.Sc. upon Mr. G. E. Bailey, Dr. Henry Herd and Mr. R. U. Sayce.

“During the year the University has lost by death two beloved and stalwart supporters. Although his health had been causing alarm for some time, Dr. A. H. Worthington remained an active member of the Council up to the time of his death on September 4th, 1941. He was Chairman of the Council from 1924 to 1934, and probably no layman had a more intimate knowledge of universities than he possessed. For a long period of years he was unsparing in his efforts to promote the welfare and progress of all aspects of our work.

“The death of our good friend and colleague, Professor E. Fiddes, came as a great shock, since we had reason to believe that he was recovering from an attack of pneumonia when heart failure intervened. He had devoted his life to the University and had successively occupied to our great advantage the positions of Assistant Lecturer in Classics, Special Lecturer in Roman History, Secretary to Council and Senate, Registrar, Senior Tutor for Men Students, Senior Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Ward Professor of History, Professor Emeritus. Up to the time of his last illness he was frequently amongst us, and served as a member of the Press Committee, and during the war had very willingly given help in the Department of History. Many generations of students have reason to be grateful to him for his sympathetic help and advice, and our indebtedness to him in so many ways will ever be a cause for gratitude. He guided the University through many difficulties, and his leadership and wisdom were a tower of strength and to those who worked with him a lasting inspiration.

“Amongst many honours announced in my annual report, it is with particular pride and pleasure that I mention here the election of Professor A. R. Todd as a Fellow of the Royal Society, and Professor J. R. Hicks as a Fellow of the British Academy.

"In conclusion I send you warmest greetings and all good wishes from everyone here.

"Yours sincerely,

"JOHN S. B. STOPFORD."

At a meeting of the Court of Governors of the University, held on the 18th of November, Sir John Stopford declared that the University's innovation of a FOURTH TERM AT UNIVERSITY. fourth term in the year had been a complete success.

Many letters had been received from other universities asking for advice on the question, for Manchester was the only University to adopt a fourth term throughout the whole of its departments.

Sir John expressed appreciation of the prompt way in which the City Council had answered the University's appeal for further teaching facilities for the Medical School in the event of the Royal Infirmary suffering such damage by enemy action as would limit their present arrangements by placing Withington Hospital at their disposal. It was a good omen for the future, because most people to-day realized that local authority hospitals had a greater part to play in medical education than in the past. Local authority hospitals and voluntary hospitals could play a complementary part. The Vice-Chancellor also thanked the Ancoats Hospital, the Salford Royal Hospital, and the Christie Hospital and Holt Radium Institute for the supplementary teaching facilities they had provided for the period of the war.

Sir William Clare Lees, presenting his report as treasurer said they had come through the year with a small balance on the right side after making provision for expenditure that had been postponed because of the war. He gave a survey of the growth of the University's assets in the last twenty years. The college site and buildings were valued at £1,093,000—an increase of £378,000.

Detailing the increase in the value of investments, he said they were a large part of the resources that enabled them to offer University education to the students at about a quarter of its actual cost. Their total investments stood at £1,748,000—an



increase of about three-quarters of a million pounds over the twenty years. The details he gave included £907,000 in the funds devoted to professorships and £319,000 for fellowships and scholarships. They had formed forty-four new funds during the past twenty years, and created sixty-eight new fellowships and scholarships which were the equivalent of the fees of about 250 students. There was a balance of £126,000 in the appeal fund—all allocated to expenditure which could not be made until the end of the war.

The need for building after the war would tax all the Council's resources both in money and administrative ability. One of the most urgent claims was for extension of halls of residence, all of which, as they had heard from the Vice-Chancellor, were now full and had a waiting-list.

We deeply regret to have to announce the death of Sir Henry A. Miers, D.Sc., F.R.S., F.C.S., F.G.S., which occurred on Thursday, the 10th of December, at his residence at West Hampstead, in his 85th year.

SIR HENRY A. MIERS.
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Henry Alexander Miers, the third son of Francis Charles Miers, civil engineer, was born at Rio de Janeiro on the 25th of March, 1858. In 1872 he was elected a King's Scholar at Eton, where he won, in 1875, the Royal Geographical Society's Public School's gold medal. He was placed in the Newcastle select in 1876 and 1877, and in the latter year went to Trinity College, Oxford, where he had been elected to a classical scholarship. He took honours in both classical and mathematical Moderations. He graduated in 1881, proceeded M.A. in 1881 and D.Sc. in 1900, being the first to obtain the doctorate which had then been newly created.

His first appointment was to an assistantship in the Mineralogical Department of the British Museum, in 1883. He was chosen as a mathematical physicist, qualified to undertake research on the crystal morphology of the fine specimens to come under his care. He remained at the Museum until 1895, and published a large number of memoirs and articles on the results of his crystallographical researches. From 1886 to 1895 he

was also Instructor in Crystallography in the Central Technical College, South Kensington, and was editor of the "Mineralogical Magazine" from 1891 to 1900. In 1895 Miers was appointed Waynflete Professor of Mineralogy at Oxford. He was the first Waynflete Professor, and the first to be as such officially connected with Magdalen College, of which he was a Fellow. He organized laboratory teaching in Mineralogy, and improved the arrangement of the fine collection of minerals in the University Museum.

His organizing and administrative ability was soon detected and used as Junior Dean in Arts in 1898, and Vice-President of Magdalen College in 1902 to 1903, Secretary to the Delegates of the University Museum from 1902 to 1908, delegate of the University Press and for the examination of schools from 1901 to 1908, and member of the Hebdomadal Council from 1905 to 1908. He visited the Yukon goldfields in 1901 and reported to the Canadian Government in 1902.

Miers was nominated Fellow of Eton College in 1903, as representative of the Royal Society, and held office until his resignation in 1934. In October, 1908, he became Principal of the University of London, where with his experience in university administration he soon became familiar with the rapidly expanding activities of London. It was a matter of regret to him that no teaching duties were attached to the post in London, and in 1915 he was glad to accept the appointment as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Manchester, because he was able to combine his administrative post with the specially created Professorship of Crystallography. His course of lectures was particularly opportune because Professor (now Sir) W. L. Bragg was then engaged on important investigations on the molecular structure of crystals by X-ray methods.

Sir Henry's knighthood was conferred upon him in 1912, and in coming to Manchester, in 1915, he was confronted with the problems of the war years which came between the end of the war and the year of his resignation in 1926; but with his rich experience and wise judgment Sir Henry was an admirable director of the University's fortunes, when the outlook was somewhat gloomy.



Under the terms of Sir Henry's appointment he was to hold office until September 30, 1923, and was due for retirement on that date, but by the unanimous wish of the authorities his appointment was extended for three years, and when he finally laid down the office it was felt that the whole city and not only the University was losing one who had put into practice the great ideals of civic service.

In 1918 Sir Henry was appointed to represent the University of Manchester on the Council of Governors of the John Rylands Library, and from 1920 to 1926 he was chairman of that body. In 1920 he was elected a Trustee of the Library, and in 1926 he was appointed honorary Governor, both of which were life appointments.

Upon his retirement from Manchester Sir Henry settled in London. His election as Trustee of the British Museum in 1926 led to his active participation in the movement to improve museums and galleries. He was a member of the Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries appointed in 1927 and issued interim and final reports in 1928-1930, and in 1931 Sir Henry became a member of the Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries. In 1926 he had been invited by the Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees to undertake a survey of the public museums other than the national museums, in the British Isles, and his report appeared in 1928. It was so favourably received that the Carnegie Corporation of New York asked him to extend his survey to Canada and British Africa and other parts of the British Empire. The reports on Canada and British Africa appeared in 1932, and he was elected president of the Museums Association, and in 1932 he was president also of the Library Association.

While on the staff of the British Museum Miers had taken an interest in precious stones which he always retained, and in 1932 on the institution of the Gemmological Association of Great Britain he was elected the first president and held office until 1937. From its inception in 1929 Sir Henry was chairman of the Locust Control Committee of the Economic Advisory Council. He was appointed chairman of the Bodleian Library Commission. He was author of numerous papers and articles

on mineralogical and crystallographical subjects. He compiled a well-known textbook on Mineralogy, which appeared in 1902, the second edition of which, prepared by H. L. Bowman, was issued in 1929.

Such are some of the outstanding interests and achievements which filled to overflowing the active life of this eminent scholar. To quote the words of appreciation of Sir John Stopford : " His energy and vigour were exceptional, and throughout the years of his retirement he took an active interest in educational and allied affairs. He was approachable, kindly and sympathetic, and was beloved as well as respected by colleagues, students and all who enjoyed the privilege of coming into contact with him."

The centenary of the foundation of Didsbury College, Manchester, was celebrated in the College Chapel (St. Paul's), on the 22nd of September, when a great crowd of "Didsbury Men" assembled from all parts of the country to pay homage to the "Old Ship," a term of endearment which they employ between themselves when speaking of the home of so many happy and sacred memories.

DIDSBURY  
COLLEGE,  
MANCHESTER.

Didsbury is the oldest of the theological colleges established by the Methodists for the purpose, in the words of Dr. Adam Clark, of "educating workmen for the vineyard of our God."

In the early days the Methodists did not easily accept the idea that their ministers should receive special training for their vocation, but on the 22nd of September, 1842, the college was opened with thirty-six students in residence, and since that day hundreds of ministers known throughout the connexion for their learning and zeal have graduated from this famous institution.

Under war-time conditions it was not possible to make arrangements for celebrating the occasion as was originally contemplated. Under the circumstances, the outstanding event of the programme was the service in St. Paul's Chapel, to which 900 former students were invited, together with 200 Anglican and Free Church leaders, theological tutors, municipal authorities and other representative citizens.



The service, at which the centenary sermon was preached by Dr. F. Luke Wiseman (an old student and ex-president of the Methodist Conference), was preceded by a procession from the college in which the Lord Mayor of Manchester, the Mayor of Salford, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Manchester (Sir John S. B. Stopford), and the Bishop of Manchester (Dr. Guy Warman) took part.

The Principal of the College (the Rev. W. Bardsley Brash) welcomed "old friends and new." Prayers were read by Dr. C. J. Wright (ex-principal) and the Bishop. The prayers offered by the Bishop included thanks for the growing unity of the Christian Church, prayers for further unity, and prayers for all the cities of the neighbourhood, and for universities, colleges and schools.

Dr. Wiseman in the course of his sermon said that when he entered the college sixty-three years ago he did not think that he would be in that pulpit to preach the centenary sermon. The college had looked round on the good Methodist principle of *seniores priores*, but they could not find a *prior* and he was there as the oldest student, who at any rate was physically fit to stand before them.

Dr. Wiseman's text was the familiar "Paul planted, Apollos watered" passage in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, which contains the challenge, "Who is Paul? Who is Apollos?" He turned for the answer to one of the most careful portraits of the Acts of the Apostles. They were both of them trained men, he said, perhaps the only two who were really trained among those early preachers.

Dr. Wiseman quoted St. Luke's description of the Jew, "fervent in spirit, eloquent, accurately instructed in the way of the Lord." What more did he want? Sixty years ago they used to hear constantly: "We shouldn't send men like that to college." He quoted the counsel he himself received when he started preaching: "Doant 'e go to college, they'll spile 'e." "The Methodist Conference knew better," he said.

Of course there was danger—that people with ability who underwent training would become mere virtuosos. But the great artist (Dr. Wiseman was speaking at the moment of

musicians) kept his technique in the background. Two hundred years ago John Wesley asked Conference, "How are we going to get a place in which men can be taught?"

Didsbury College was not founded that it might rival the universities but that they might be instructed, even "certified," in the things that were surely believed among them—not because they had been taught them but because they had been taught they were to be surely realised by them. Being denied a place in the Church by the authorities of the Church of England, they had to find their way to God, and they found it. At Didsbury great work had been done on the Divinity and Person of Christ, and a noble and more recent work on the Holy Spirit.

At a meeting in the evening presided over by the Principal, short tributes to Didsbury, and testimonies to happy memories of life there and its influence were paid by a number of distinguished ex-students and others, including the President of the Conference (the Rev. W. J. Noble), the ex-Presidents, the Rev. W. H. Armstrong, Dr. Lansdell Wardle, and the ex-Principal (Dr. T. H. Barratt).

An interesting centenary volume under the title "Didsbury College Centenary, 1842-1942," edited by W. Bardsley Brash and Charles J. Wright, has been issued by the Epworth Press. It contains more than a dozen delightful memories of men who have passed through the College, and we offer our congratulations to the editors upon this happy memorial of the Centenary.

The Manchester Friends of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem met together on the 16th of September to celebrate the seventeenth anniversary of its foundation and to hear an address by Professor Norman Bentwich, in which he gave a most reassuring account of the successful growth of the University during the sixteen years of its activity, which encouraged them to look forward to a career of great usefulness.

THE HEBREW  
UNIVERSITY  
OF  
JERUSALEM.

It must have come as a surprise to many of those who took part in the meeting, as it did to the writer of these paragraphs, to learn of the extraordinary development which had taken place since its inauguration in 1925 with a very modest equipment.



From those small beginnings it has developed two full faculties of the humanities and of the mathematical and natural sciences. A pre-faculty of medicine with an admirably equipped Hospital and Medical Research Centre, also a pre-faculty of Agriculture which is linked up with a scientific experimental section.

To-day it has an academic staff of upwards of one hundred and fifty members, including men of world-wide reputation.

The undergraduates during the last two years have numbered some twelve hundred, drawn from all the countries of the world, in addition to which there are nearly one hundred post-graduate students engaged in research. During the year under review no fewer than sixty-nine degrees were awarded.

The most remarkable of all the recent expansions, upon which Professor Bentwich rightly laid great emphasis, has been the inauguration of a Faculty of Agriculture and the opening of agricultural laboratories, which will enable the Faculty to concentrate upon farm management. It offers a full course of five years, of which two are spent in the study of natural sciences in Jerusalem and two at the Experimental Station at Rehovoth, where the University is building the College of Agriculture.

The year under review has seen also an extension of the work of the Cancer Research and other departments of the Medical Research Centre.

The Museum of Archæology which is to house the Record of Palestine and the Jewish people through the ages has been completed, and also the extension of the National Library, which now possesses upwards of 400,000 volumes.

The expulsion of Jewish students and teachers from the Nazi-ridden countries of Europe has made of this University a haven and a citadel of the Jewish mind, with the result that it can claim to-day to be the greatest refugee University in the world, and bids fair to become without qualification one of the most distinguished seats of learning.

Directly and indirectly the University is playing its part in the titanic struggle in which the world is engaged. Two hundred students have volunteered for service in the war and are serving in different units of the British Army. Other five

hundred have registered for service when called upon, and at the commencement of the present academic year the University authorities announced that no unmarried student would be admitted unless he had a certificate from the Jewish recruiting authorities in Palestine that he was unfit for military service.

The maintenance of the University and its present activities is a service to this country and to the war effort as well as a service to science and freedom of thought, and is the finest answer to the ruthless war on the mind which is being waged by the Nazis.

We offer hearty congratulations to our Jewish Friends upon the success they have achieved.

The authorities of the Jewish National Library, to which brief reference has been made in the preceding paragraphs, would have commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation on the 29th of July of the present year had normal conditions prevailed, but in consequence of the prevailing war conditions no formal celebration was undertaken. A short report on the history and progress of the Library has been issued, from which we reproduce some facts relating to its development and the growth of its collections during the fifty years that have elapsed since its foundation.

THE JEWISH  
NATIONAL  
LIBRARY.

When the Library was opened in Jerusalem, in 1892, its founders hoped that some day it would develop into a great National Library for the whole of the Jewish people, and a step towards that ideal was taken in 1925, when the Hebrew University was opened.

It was in that year that the University took over the institution and it has since served both as a Jewish National Library and as a University Library. In the latter capacity it serves the purposes of research and study in all the arts and sciences.

In 1930 a new building was erected for the Library in the University grounds on Mount Scopus.

The collections now aggregate well over 400,000 volumes, which are available to readers from all over the country without distinction of race or creed.

As a Jewish National Library the institution is particularly



concerned with the collection of books in the fields of Hebraica, Judaica and Palestinensia.

The number of volumes in Hebrew characters (in Hebrew and various Jewish dialects) has now reached 55,000, and is said to constitute one of the greatest collections of Hebraica in the world. The collection of Hebrew incunabula is one of the largest extant.

The Library also has a notable department of Arabic literature, which has been built up around the collection of the late Ignaz Goldziher, the famous orientalist.

The manuscript collection consists of 1871 volumes, mostly in Hebrew.

Since 1924 the Library has regularly published a Hebrew bibliographical quarterly, "Kirjath Sepher." All new books in the field of Palestinensia, Hebraica and Judaica are systematically recorded in this journal. In addition, articles on Hebrew bibliography, the history of Hebrew printing, Judaica, and manuscripts in the Library's collections, appear regularly in its pages.

The Library is an unique institution serving the only Hebrew University in the world, promoting learning in the awakening Middle East and providing a centre for Jewish culture in Palestine.

The year 1942 marks the millenary of the death of Saadya Ben Joseph (Said al Fayyum), Jewish Rabbi.

He was born at Dilaz in Upper Egypt in 882, and his death at the age of sixty occurred at Sura in Babylonia.

Nothing is known of his youth and education, nor are his teachers named, but he must have acquired a very extensive knowledge as is shown by his writings.

He was a fighter for Israel, its unity and established tradition. His only concern was to preserve the unity necessary for the survival of scattered Israel.

In the many other struggles against opponents of traditional Judaism he fought fearlessly with great personal courage, and did not allow himself to be carried away by passions. His fight was for right and justice.

It was in his twentieth year that he completed his first great work, the Hebrew Dictionary, which he entitled "Agron," thus apparently beginning the activity which was to prove so

important in opposition to Karaism and other heresies, and in the defence of traditional Judaism.

In 915 he left Egypt to settle in Palestine, for what reason is not known.

In 928 he was elected Gaon, or Principal, of the ancient academy of Sura, which then entered upon a new period of brilliancy. In 930 he retired to Bagdad, which was the centre of Judaism and a flourishing Jewish community.

Saadya was a representative of the "Peshat," or literal interpretation, a creator of Hebrew philology, and the promoter of a new school of exegesis, characterized by a rational investigation of the contents and scientific knowledge of the text. His work was characterized by treating each book as a whole and the contents as a unity by his minuteness of exegesis. Furthermore his style in translation and in authorship aimed at simple form and pure vocabulary.

He is distinguished for his translations of the Pentateuch, Job, the Psalms, Canticles and other books of the Bible into Arabic with brief annotations, for his grammatical and lexical works, and above all for his "Book of Articles of Faith and Doctrine of Dogma," in Arabic, completed in 933. It was the first systematic presentation and philosophic foundation of the dogmas of Judaism.

In his philosophy he surveyed the entire field of doctrine ranging from the idea of God to ethics in the light of reason and revelation.

After Philo, Saadya was the first great writer in post-Biblical Judaism. Like Philo he called Egypt his fatherland. A complete edition of those of his writings which have been preserved either in their entirety or in fragments was begun by Joseph Derembourg in 1892 in honour of the millenary of his birth, which is expected to fill ten volumes.

A volume of Saadya Studies is in preparation in commemoration of the thousandth anniversary of Saadya's death. It will consist of fourteen essays, and is intended to be Anglo-Jewry's contribution to the Saadya Anniversary.

SAADYA  
STUDIES.



It is the aim of the individual papers, as well as of the volume as a whole, to throw fresh light on various aspects of Saadya's literary activity, and to contribute to our knowledge of the important pioneering efforts of the first great exponent of Jewish learning in the past.

Hebrew grammar and lexicography, Biblical exegesis, both in translation and comment, poetry, religious philosophy, theology and liturgy are represented. In addition important fragments of hitherto unknown or unpublished writings of Saadya are reproduced in facsimile or in a critical edition.

The list of contributors includes the names of Professor Dr. E. Robertson, Rabbi Dr. A. Altmann, Professor Dr. S. Krauss, Professor Dr. Eugen Mittwoch, and Dr. Erwin I. J. Rosenthal, who will edit the volume, and there will be a Foreword by the Chief Rabbi, Dr. J. H. Hertz.

The volume will be published by the Manchester University Press.

The tenth annual conference of the British Records Association, of which the Master of the Rolls (Rt. Hon. Wilfrid Arthur, Lord Greene, O.B.E., M.C.), is PRESERVA-  
TION OF  
BRITISH  
RECORDS.  
President, took place at Vintners' Hall, London, on the 17th November.

The annual report is a most interesting and informing document, which describes the Association's attempts to mitigate the results of ill-educated enthusiasm for paper salvage.

One very valuable achievement was the organization of about 340 local representatives who were willing to advise on what old papers should be preserved.

One of the features of the conference was a small exhibition of documents which had suffered in air raids and illustrated another side of the Association's work. The exhibit included church registers from the Temple Church, and from St. John's Church, Smith Square, London, which showed how paper documents damaged by heat can be "framed" with edges of newspaper plus sometimes the application of a silk gauze, and resizing; also how a parchment volume, badly shrunk and distorted, can, by patient damping and

smoothing out with the thumbs, be restored almost to its original dimensions.

One set of sixteenth and seventeenth-century accounts of the Armourers' and Braziers' Company, which was on view, had been rescued, when just about to putrefy, after it had been for some weeks in a flooded vault. The paper leaves, after having been separated, flattened, dried, and resized, hardly show a trace of damage. Records of the Salters' Company were saved from a strong room which for several days had been an oven hot enough to char the leather bindings to cinders. Here the paper documents, after treatment, show little damage, and the vellum charters have lost little except their seals, which have disappeared.

Some modern documents from a solicitor's office show what can be done with papers charred black, not perhaps by way of permanent repair, but by mounting them between sheets of cellophane, so that they can be handled and, with patient manipulation in the light, read.

It is noted with much satisfaction the helpful attitude of a large proportion of the important authorities that have been approached. The Parochial Clergy in thirty or more Dioceses have had their attention called to the work of the Association by a message from their Bishop, with the express approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

A new series of single-page leaflets "Memoranda" have been issued at small cost, which give specific instruction with regard to classes of Records to be preserved and similar matters.

The secretaries of the Association will be glad to furnish guidance to any enquirers at the office of the Association, 8 New Square, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C. 2.

Twelve months ago we had the pleasure to welcome the publication of that very vivid biography of Mrs. Thrale-Piozzi, by James L. Clifford, much of the material for which had been drawn from the contemporary evidence to be found in the large collection of "Johnsoniana" in the Rylands Library.

THE DIARY  
OF MRS.  
THRALE-  
PIOZZI.

Now, it is our pleasure to welcome the two fine volumes of



"Thraliana" which have been edited from the original manuscripts of the six handsome commonplace books of the Diarist, now in the Henry Huntington Library, by Miss Katherine C. Balderston, of Wellesley College, and published by the Oxford University Press.

In the course of her work Miss Balderston spent much time in the Rylands Library, and drew upon the Rylands Collection of "Johnsoniana," which were obtained from the same source as the "Thraliana."

The story of "Thraliana" may be briefly told as follows : In 1776 Mr. Thrale gave to his wife six handsome manuscript volumes to be kept as commonplace books, which she faithfully did for the next thirty years. The nature of the book is indicated in the first entry : "It is many years since Doctor Samuel Johnson advised me to get a little Book, and write in it all the little Anecdotes which might come to my knowledge, all the Observations I might make or hear ; all the Verses never likely to be published, and in fine, ev'rything which struck me at the Time. Mr. Thrale has now treated me with a Repository, and provided it with the pompous Title of Thraliana ; I must endeavour to fill it with Nonsense new and old ;" and fill it she did, with a mixture of diary and extracts and anecdotes.

The volumes have been used as a source of information by many writers, notably by Mr. J. L. Clifford for his recent life of Mrs. Piozzi, but they have never been edited or printed before. Apart from their interest to Johnsonians as a necessary complement to Boswell, they give an intimate picture of the life of a famous blue-stocking, and they provide a fine feast of varied and entertaining fare ; Mrs. Thrale had a fluent and witty pen, an insatiable curiosity, and a flair for anecdote, and every good thing that came her way was set down in "Thraliana."

We congratulate Miss Balderston upon the completion of this monumental piece of work. We have seen that lady at her work-table and we have been able to form an excellent idea of the thoroughness of her work, even before it came to fruition.

We also offer our congratulations to the Clarendon Press upon the excellence of their work in the production of these two handsome volumes.

In consequence of the lighting restrictions still imposed under the Air Raid Precautions the regular evening series of public lectures has been suspended for the time being, and a short series of afternoon lectures has been substituted, to commence at three o'clock during the ensuing session.

RYLANDS  
PUBLIC  
LECTURES.

Wednesday, 14th October, 1942. "Browning's Ethical Poetry." By H. B. Charlton, M.A., Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 11th November, 1942. "Are there Human Instincts?" By T. H. Pear, M.A., B.Sc., Professor of Psychology in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 9th December, 1942. "Food for Gods and Men in Ancient Sumer (Third Millennium B.C.)." By T. Fish, Ph.D., Special Lecturer in Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 13th January, 1943. "The Life of Jesus : a Survey of the Available Material." By T. W. Manson, M.A., Litt.D., D.D., Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 10th February, 1943. "Dame Juliana Berners." By E. F. Jacob, M.A., D.Phil., Professor of Medieval History in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 10th March, 1943. "The Torah as the Key to the Old Testament." By Edward Robertson, D.Litt., D.D., Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 14th April, 1943. "Early Franciscan Art and Literature" (with lantern pictures). By John R. H. Moorman, B.D., Rector of Fallowfield, Manchester.

The following is a list of publications, consisting of articles which have appeared in the two latest issues of the BULLETIN.

RECENT  
RYLANDS  
PUBLICA-  
TIONS.

"Hamlet." By H. B. Charlton, M.A., Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 24. Price eighteenpence net.



- "Letters from the War Front in Ancient Mesopotamia." By T. Fish, Ph.D., Special Lecturer in Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 20. Price eighteenpence net.
- "The Dawn of the Revival of Learning." By Henry Guppy, C.B.E., Litt.D., Librarian of the John Rylands Library. 8vo, pp. 36. Price two shillings net.
- "The Collapse of France in 1419-20." By E. F. Jacob, M.A., D.Phil., Professor of Medieval History in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 20. Price eighteenpence net.
- "St. Paul in Ephesus : (4) The Corinthian Correspondence." By T. W. Manson, D.Litt., D.D., Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 18. Price eighteenpence net.
- "Contemporary Poetry and Drama in Greece." By Alexander A. Matsas, Secretary to the Royal Hellenic Ministry for Foreign Affairs. 8vo, pp. 20. Price eighteenpence net.
- "Greece's Rôle as a Balkan and Mediterranean Power." By A. Michalopoulos, C.B.E., F.R.S.A., M.A., Greek Minister of Information. 8vo, pp. 12. Price eighteenpence net.
- "Selected Cheshire Seals (12th-17th century) from the collections in the John Rylands Library." By F. Taylor, M.A., Ph.D., Keeper of Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library. 8vo, pp. 20, with facsimiles. Price eighteenpence net.
- "The Priestley Code : the Legislation of the Old Testament and Graf-Wellhausen." By Edward Robertson, D.Litt., D.D., Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 24. Price eighteenpence net.

The following titles represent a selection of the works added to the shelves of the Library since the publication of our last issue.

ART : BEAUMONT (Cyril W.), "Supplement to Complete Book of Ballets," 8vo ; BEAZLEY (J. D.), "Attic Red-figure Vase-painters," 8vo ; BLUNT (A.), "François Mansart and the Origins of French Classical Architecture," 8vo ; GAUNT (J.), "Hollar, a Czech Emigré in England," 8vo.

GENERAL  
ACCESSIONS  
TO THE  
LIBRARY.

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## BROWNING'S ETHICAL POETRY.<sup>1</sup>

By H. B. CHARLTON, M.A.,

PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

FOR once in a way, I make no apology for my subject to-day ; whatever one's notion of the nature of poetry may be, even if one takes the extreme view that poetry is an art for its own sake, one cannot pretend to know Browning's poetry without grappling with its ethical content. For all its content is directly or indirectly ethical. His abiding concern is with men and women, and his main interest is in seizing on incidents crucial to the development of their souls. The world of man meant intensely for him, and to find its meaning was his meat and drink. Nor was it a mimic star of Rephan, where weak and strong, the wise and the foolish, right and wrong, are merged alike in a neutral Best. He watched the figures of earth's men and women straining in circumstance until they revealed their spirits' true endowments impelling them on the right way or the wrong way to their triumph or undoing. He saw living as a ceaseless spiritual activity, a process of man in the making ; and incessantly he sought for clues to the best means by which man best makes himself. He was indeed an impassioned and deliberate moralist. He had convictions about the nature of goodness and of right conduct. The world recognised in him the gifts of the poet, the insight and the oversight of a poet ; and gifts must prove their use. He felt it his duty to himself, to man, and to God to speak out what he had apprehended of the ways of achieving human worth. These apprehensions are the stuff to which I now invite your attention.

Though my handling of them will be that of an amateur unversed in the language and technique of philosophy, I venture to add one personal note in justification of my subject as the

<sup>1</sup> An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 14th of October, 1942.

theme of a Rylands lecture. On my own Browning shelves are two volumes standing cover to cover ; and the author of each was formerly a Governor of the John Rylands Library. One is a volume, *Notes to Selections from the Poems of Robert Browning*, published by the National Home Reading Union in 1897 ; and amongst the most illuminating of its contents are essays by a great mind, my own revered first teacher, Professor C. E. Vaughan. The other is Professor C. H. Herford's *Robert Browning*, written in 1905 ; and Herford was my first academic chief and my immediate predecessor in the Chair at Manchester. For both of these scholars and thinkers Browning was a moral prophet. I feel therefore that I need no other sanction for choosing this subject, though by naming Vaughan and Herford to you in natural piety, I give you easy means for measuring my own inadequacy to walk where they walked before me.

Approaching Browning's ethical poetry, then, we must ask ourselves : (1) what is it that we are seeking from it ; (2) when we have found it, what validity for our moral sense does it possess, and (3) where particularly in the vastness of his poems shall we find what we seek ?

What do we seek in Browning's ethical poetry ? We seek from it Browning's notion of virtue, that is, since virtue is etymologically "man-ness," that way of living which is most becoming to man, enabling him most fully to realise the scope of his nature as man. What, in fact, is a good man, and how does man become the best he may ? How much of his becoming is determined by his natural character, and how much is controlled by his moral choice ? As these questions depend on a whole metaphysic and, in view of the metaphysical categories of Browning's day, on a theology, how far are Browning's answers to the ethical question dependent on an acceptance of his version of metaphysical and theological truth ? That is, can one adopt Browning's ethical propositions without accepting also his metaphysical and, particularly, his theological doctrines ? In fact, although we may discover that Browning's idea of human goodness is closely bound up with Browning's own idea of God and of Christ, does it yet constitute a feasible notion of goodness



without those links? These, it would appear, are the various issues raised. For convenience, they may be resolved into two major questions. When, in Browning's view, is a man a good man; and why does Browning determine that under those circumstances man is good?

Turn then to the other problem. When we have answered these two questions, what validity has his decision for us? Our judgment of the moral quality of a particular act implies two quite distinct conditions, one psychological and the other speculative or philosophical. First, we must know what the seeds of the act were, what impulses impelled it and then to what extent volition compelled it. Secondly, when the will has realised itself in act, we must see that outcome as part of a universal goodness. Now to what extent is a poet particularly competent to satisfy these two conditions? To meet the first of them, has he any special gift for probing personality, diagnosing its instinctive impulses and tracking its purposes unsure? Some assurance here is easy. One way by which a man may enter into the personality of another and realise such full sympathy that he really feels the other's feelings and thinks his thoughts, is by the exercise of imagination: and it is imagination which is the poet's primary gift. There are poets, of course, whose imagination preferably explores aetherial regions. But in all of them at times, and in some of them by regular predilection, imagination occupies itself with the mystery of man himself. These are the poets whom the world calls its dramatists. Now Browning had most of the dramatist's qualities, and by virtue of them he has cunning in detecting men's impulses and seeing their motives clear. He fulfils then the first of the conditions making for valid judgment.

Is he provided with similar guarantees for satisfying the second condition? Having securely diagnosed all the contributory forces preceding the realised act, has he particular skill for fitting the particular act into a pattern of universal truth? It is the old problem of the poet's status as philosopher. That, in turn, involves the old Platonic differentiation between mediate and immediate avenues to reality; and that has resolved itself into a partly specious discrimination between the

relative values of intuition and of reason, or of head and heart, in the search for truth ; or, on the other hand, into an also partly specious identification of truth and knowledge. Only a professed philosopher can put this problem in its proper terms. But to a lay mind, knowledge of truth is awareness of reality ; and human awareness operates through all the sentient elements of the human personality. In the broad and simple sense we are aware of things by their impact on any of the components of our person and personality. We are aware of heat by sensations through our skin. But apparently we only know heat when our reason can phrase a formula for it in terms of physical science. But is not science in this sense merely a part of complete knowledge, that part, namely, which is demanded by one function of reason, the function which German philosophers called "understanding" ? And is not the awareness to which understanding remains unsusceptible nevertheless part of a fuller knowledge which a larger reason must recognise ? The larger reason must, of course, impose final conditions ; for instance, in denying that "understanding" must always be satisfied, it may well insist that it shall never be flatly affronted. There must, perhaps, be no bald "*credo quia impossibile est*," or at least only a well-qualified one. But again, only a philosopher can rightly phrase the terms of the awareness which properly embraces all varieties of knowledge. This, however, seems a safe assertion. All through time, man has found that in the infinitely wide stretch of the unknown, his instinct impels him to seek knowledge of those which elude his "understanding," but of which some sort of satisfying awareness seems to be provided by his intuition. And, conscious of himself as a complex organism, he has taken as faith that which gave most gratification to the larger number of the more dominant elements in his consciousness, when that gratification has not positively required a denial of the function of any other of these elements of consciousness. On these grounds, poets have been called seers ; they have been held to reveal truth. The hypersensitive sensitiveness which makes them poets has provided them with immediate or intuitive awareness of some unity of which they cannot mediately or rationally demonstrate the unifying

components in the language of understanding. As Browning puts it, they have been apt to rise

From the gift looking to the giver,  
And from the cistern to the river,  
And from the finite to infinity,  
And from man's dust to God's divinity.

So, to the question of the validity of Browning's propositions on ethical problems, the answer is that, if as poet he can present his apprehensions in a manner which compels in us the same organically-complex gratification as was his, they are also truth for us at that moment. Whether they remain truth for us depends on a multitude of other conditions. But they have become a permanent part of our awareness, truth they were, and truth they again or even permanently may be.

And now to the last of these preliminaries. Knowing what we seek in Browning's ethical poetry, and having enquired into the validity of what we may therein find, where in the huge bulk of his works are we most likely to discover that which we seek? Browning's traffic was almost exclusively with men and women, all discovering their own souls. All his poems are stuffed with moral matter. But we want him most of all at those times when the gifts which confer authority on his findings were most vitally operative. It is as poet that he stands. What made him poet was precisely the peculiar sensitiveness of the non-ratiocinative elements in his faculties of awareness, and the consequent susceptibility of his intuitions and of his imagination. We want him therefore whilst these elements of his consciousness are functioning harmoniously with his reason, or without protest from it, and not when a decline in their vigour had allowed reason, now shrunk for safety to "understanding," to overcome their authority in the total partnership of awareness. Now it is universally agreed by critics of all shades of opinion that Browning the poet grew to his own from the beginnings of *Pauline*, *Paracelsus* and *Sordello* through the tentative dramas of the early forties into the dramatic lyrics and monologues of the 1842 and 1845 volumes until he became his complete artistic self in the *Men and Women* of 1855 ; that the first faint signs of



decline are in the 1864 *Dramatis Personæ*, and, although with compensations splendidly apt to our immediate purpose, in *The Ring and the Book*, of 1868/9; that after *The Ring and the Book*, though his output of verse was vast, the poetic prerogative had faded before the demands of a more formally philosophic purpose. With increasing avidity his reason demands reasons and is no longer satisfied with inbreakings, through the venting of a brace of rhymes, of the sudden truth herself. Inspiration gives way to dialectic; poetic creation becomes versified argumentation and therefore addresses itself mainly to "understanding" at the expense of such conviction as had previously satisfied a larger reason. Hence we shall find more clearly what he has caught, as distinct from what he has thought, of the moral process called living in those of his poems, the dramatic lyrics and monologues, which are best represented in the 1842, 1845, 1855 and 1864 volumes. But, admitting this, we shall find a special usefulness in *The Ring and the Book*; and particularly because its plan involves much argumentation as part of its essential poetry.

As Browning's imaginative vision burned less brightly, he was thrown back on argument conditioned by formal logic. His confidence in his vision became less, and greater became the need to restore his convictions by ratiocination. Greater too became his despair at doing so, so great in fact that he came to deny the possibility of knowledge in that sense. Indeed, in one of the earlier of his later philosophic and argumentative poems, *La Saisiaz* (1878), he was led to complete agnosticism, though not, of course, to religious unbelief:

. . . Conjecture manifold,

But, as knowledge, this comes only—things may be as I behold,  
Or may not be, but, without me and above me, things there are;  
I myself am what I know not—ignorance which proves no bar  
To the knowledge that I am, and since I am, can recognise  
What to me is pain and pleasure: this is sure, the rest—surmise.  
If my fellows are or are not, what may please them and what pain,—  
Mere surmise: my own experience—that is knowledge, once again.

To this Browning, then, a poet's own experience is the whole of his truth and knowledge. But truth caught by poets can only

be transmitted poetically, that is, as an experience, an immediate vision, communicated by the poet's poetry. Yet man must reason about it, if he is to think at all, and he must think about it if he is to relate it to his other experiences in the same or in other kinds. So the poet's truth, although itself an apprehension of fancies which break through language and escape, must submit to partial translation into the only verbal currency by which systematic thinking is possible. Fortunately, the scheme of *The Ring and the Book* projected by Browning's still vital imagination, included a figure whom the poetic idea compelled to make his intuitive findings amenable to his thought: the Pope in it sums up and justifies by discourse the convictions reached by his and Browning's poetic insight. He thus becomes the authentic expositor of Browning's ethical system. It is not so much that the Pope expounds doctrines only to be found in *The Ring and the Book*, for in all Browning's poetry there is an overwhelming uniformity in the main tenets enunciated. For instance: that life is not a condition of static being, but a perpetual becoming, a process, an unceasing growth; that a man's reach should exceed his grasp; that most failure is most success; that triumph is by trial, temptation a purifying fire; that quiescence is the great refusal, courage a primary duty; that love is best, the cause, the purpose, and the richest mode of living. These all will recognise as typical of Browning's moral judgments, to be found by almost random picking from a hundred of his shorter poems. But in *The Ring and the Book* these pronouncements are built into a system, explanations and implications pursued, and justification attempted. The speaker of them in *The Ring and the Book* is the Pope, and dramatically in him the moral is but part of the religious problem; naturally also he fits his morals into a Christian pattern. But so also did Browning in the bulk of his works. Hence, the Pope (unlike all Browning's other dramatic figures except those for whom independently a similar prerogative can be claimed) may not unreasonably be held to speak the mind of Browning, especially as some of his utterances are patently inappropriate to a historic Pope of this Pope's day. In effect, then, it is to the book of the Pope in *The Ring and the Book* that we turn for the most

comprehensive and most authoritative expression of Browning's ethical notions. What further he himself tells us in his subsequent poems is only partially relevant, and indeed often essentially misleading, for it is largely concerned with intellectual difficulties encountered in his own later-day criticism of his earlier convictions after the means by which he had reached conviction were no longer at his service.

But before appealing to the Pope, let us look at three shorter poems, *The Grammarian's Funeral*, *The Statue and the Bust*, and *Rabbi ben Ezra*. With a strict limitation of the word ethical, these are the three which would probably be first chosen as Browning's most exclusively ethical poems, because the issues of religion, or particularly of the Christian religion, which are usually intertwined so inseparably in Browning's ethical thought, are woven far less prominently into their ethical pattern. And each of them is remarkable in that it may appear to propound a point or points of view not at once compatible with major articles of Browning's usual creed. For instance, *The Grammarian's Funeral* appears to glorify an indifference to the world and its moments, and to exalt an ascetic absorption in book-learning which is out of tune with Browning's zest for the vigour and variety of human experience. *The Statue and the Bust* appears to be a flagrant exaltation of adultery, and a claim for so much relativity in moral values that the difference between good and evil disappears: doctrines curious in the mouth of a poet who idealised love, found lust "Hell's own blue tint," and saw the sole possibility of a moral life in the antagonism of good and evil. *Rabbi ben Ezra*, amidst much that chimes with Browning's usual note, makes particular use of the Old Testament image of the potter and his clay; and this Hebrew symbolism of the omnipotence of God and the impotence of man accords ill with the individualist Browning's sense of man's share in his own spiritual making.

But a good deal of the apparent inconsistency arises from an error against which Browning continually protested. He is a dramatic poet, and usually his poems are the expression of opinions dramatically proper to the character who speaks them. It is never safe to assume that Browning thinks as his characters



think ; nor that he tacitly approves the moods and opinions he attributes to them. We see him

gather men and women,  
Live or dead, or fashioned by (his) fancy,  
Enter each and all, and use their service,  
Speak from every mouth—

but in what he makes them say, he denies that he reveals himself :

Hardly shall I tell *my* joys and sorrows,  
Hopes and fears, belief and disbelieving.

Sometimes even the wariest critics distort both poem and doctrine by forgetting Browning's warning. For instance, in the brilliant and profound exposition of *Browning as a Philosophical and Religious Teacher*, which Professor (afterwards Sir) Henry Jones published in 1891, one of Browning's most dramatic lyrics is shorn of its essential dramatic substance to provide quotations which even for the philosophic argument are the poorer because they diminish the range of Browning's insight ; they hide his perpetual consciousness of the philosophic limitations of formal statement in the pursuit of truth. The poem is *A Woman's Last Word*. Sir Henry Jones quotes the three stanzas—"Be a God and hold me", etc., to "Laying flesh and spirit In thy hands". He cites these three stanzas to vindicate the proposition that for Browning "True love is always an infinite giving which holds nothing back". On other counts and with other corroborative evidence, the general proposition may be voted. But the philosopher should have been arrested by his judicial use of 'true', and the Browning exponent should have been warned by the striking crescendo in values implicit in the first of the quoted stanzas :

Be a God and hold me  
With a charm—

rising, in the speaker's mind, to a more transcendent plane of worth in the greater adjuration :

Be a man and fold me  
With thine arm !

One should catch at once the temperament and character of a speaker who speaks thus. And one should remember that to

read Browning's poems right one should always ask the preliminary question : who speaks this and what sort of person is he or she ; and in what circumstances is he or she speaking ? Browning is an adept producer ; his gift for giving the mind the prod which suggests the necessary answers is sheer dramatic genius. The *Soliloquy of the Spanish Cloister*, for example : the mind aroused to its association with the devout cloistered life in Spain, one of the homes of Catholicism, and then the impact of the first lines—"Gr !—there go, my heart's abhorrence, Water your damned flower-pots, do !" Or *The Lost Mistress* ; the title, invoking traditional associations of a broken heart, intensified by the first words—"All's over then", but followed at once by the uncannily right excitement of speculative psychology—"Does truth sound bitter as one at first believes ?" So, in this poem, *A Woman's Last Word*. The proverbial woman, *das ewig-Weibliche*, 'everywoman', but only the every woman of common belief. That, indeed, is what the poet depicts ; but the afterthought prompted by his picture is like so much of Browning, a challenge to the common faith. She is speaking after a prolonged spell of bickering, nervously exhausted :

Let's contend no more, Love,  
Strive nor weep :  
All be as before, Love,  
—Only sleep !

The hunger for the impersonal quietude of unconsciousness prompts the most revealing flashes of her clinging infatuation. All the pother is because they acted as intelligent folk must act, and put their feelings and thoughts into words—

What so wild as words are ?  
I and thou,  
In debate, as birds are.

They should have remembered that they two, building their nest in a romantic paradise, had contracted out of the cosmos into a universe of two, and that, around their nest, cosmos lurked everywhere with hostile intent :

I and thou,  
In debate, as birds are,  
Hawk on bough !

Why, even the twittering of sweet nothings would be too dangerously loud, for the enemy, the whole world other than themselves, is about them ready to pounce : ' hawk on bough '.

See the creature stalking  
While we speak !

The only sure refuge is absolute quiet :

Hush and hide the talking  
Cheek on cheek.

The attitude ' cheek on cheek ' is a superbly dramatic situation ; there indubitably speaks the woman whose next words are

What so false as truth is,  
False to thee ?

She will swear that black is white at his bidding, if that is the only way to ' cheek on cheek ' bliss. Yet she must seem to be a reasonable being ; and so

Where the serpent's tooth is,  
Shun the tree :

There is, in fact, biblical authority that some ways to knowledge are forbidden ; they are the wiles of Satan. And his Satanic astuteness decks these wiles in innocent-seeming allurements :

Where the apple reddens,  
Never pry—

for that is how the serpent undid Eve. This, indeed, is this woman's paradise, a Garden of Eden built just for two in a world where all else are birds and beasts of prey. Hence her ecstatic subversion of all moral and theological values :

Be a god and hold me  
With a charm—

passing into the climacteric

Be a man and fold me  
With thine arm !



This is the "cheek on cheek" sentiment in rapturous exaltation. To earn it and to hold it, she will forswear everything, body and soul, decency, morality, truth and individual personality :

Teach me, only teach, Love !  
As I ought  
I will speak thy speech, Love,  
Think thy thought :

it will be a duty to deny truth in utter prostration of self :

Meet, if thou require it,  
Both demands,  
Laying flesh and spirit  
In thy hands.

But to such a sentimental woman, such complete surrender is in mere prospect the occasion of absolute nervous exhaustion ; and so

That shall be to-morrow,  
Not to-night,  
I must bury sorrow  
Out of sight.

And in any case, the hawk cannot hear silence, and hawks are forgotten in the sentimental anæsthesia induced by sweet warm tears :

—Must a little weep, Love  
(Foolish me !)  
And so fall asleep, Love,  
Loved by thee.

In this magnificently dramatic representation of abject self-surrender, the giving away of the one human ground of certainty, consciousness of self, it is clear that Browning is depicting one way of love, but a way which is the opposite of all that love which is

Creative and self-sacrificing too  
And thus eventually God-like,

as, once more, our surest mentor, the Pope of *The Ring and the Book* will tell us.

So, turning to *A Grammarian's Funeral*, let us heed Browning's injunction that his art is dramatic. The funeral hymn is chanted by the devoted students of an old grammarian professor whose corpse they are carrying to its last resting-place in an appropriate

grave on the mountain summit. He has instilled into them a passionate fervour for book-learning; they have the right humility in their reverence for him, and youth's unlimited belief in the possibilities of the new learning, as well as a youthful academic contempt for illiteracy and an implicit assumption that worth is measured by ability to avoid false quantities in classical verse. They are the stuff from which All Soul's recruits its fellows and provides with means for entering on their real education. The Grammarian himself is a type of the scholars through whose grammatical labours it became possible for Europe to reach an intellectual rebirth. When the buried MSS. of Greece were gradually exhumed in the fifteenth century, they were hieroglyphs in an unknown tongue. The long labour of deciphering, of making out grammars and dictionaries so that men might read them, was the work of such as this grammarian. It was not for them to see the light; it was theirs to provide the papers which in the next generation would kindle a fire in the heat and the glare of which a new Europe would build itself on ancient humanism. In the main, they knew not what they did; and it was by their desiccation that later generations found matter to instil new life. But with allowable dramatic licence Browning permits his grammarian, and to a less extent his faithful disciples, to have some faint but fervent intimation of their rôle in the schemes of Providence.

They set out carrying the coffin, leaving the haunts of the unlettered multitude of common mortals, in the 'common crofts' and 'vulgar thorpes', who, knowing neither Latin nor Greek, can have no soul beyond a cow's or a sheep's, and no care therefore but the mean maintenance of their own bodies.

Leave we the common crofts, the vulgar thorpes  
Each in its tether  
Sleeping safe on the bosom of the plain,  
Cared-for till cock-crow!

The 'unlettered plain' is no fit burial-place for the Grammarian; they seek a cemetery symbolically as far from this as possible. So

Seek we sepulture  
On a tall mountain, citied to the top,  
Crowded with culture!

The cities are, of course, symbols of the mind, the shapes of things to come from the new intellectual gospel of culture (spell this *kultur* and at once the dangers inherent in book-learning and philosophic literalism and pedantry are patent). So humbly and reverently,

Our low life was the level's and the night's,  
He's for the morning !—

they begin the ascent :

This is our master, famous, calm and dead,  
Borne on our shoulders.

As they climb, their scorn for the vulgar mass of men increases, and all men's simple common-sense plans, like building roofs to keep the rain out, are despised as low-minded. Nay, even the prudential mother-wit which recognises that spring time will be followed by winter is taken to signify a contemptible meanness of spirit.

Sleep, crop and herd ! Sleep, darkling thorpe and croft,  
Safe from the weather !  
He, whom we convoy to his grave aloft,  
Singing together,  
He was a man born with thy face and throat,  
Lyric Apollo !  
Long he lived nameless ; how should spring take note  
Winter would follow ?

Ascending still, they exultingly recall their master's career. Tied to his study, lo

‘ The little touch, and youth was gone .

But ‘ cramped and diminished ’, he did not seize on the chance to plead that he had done his share and others must now replace him ; on the contrary, he addicted himself still more avidly to his crippling task—

Cramped and diminished,  
Moaned he, “ New measures, other feet anon !  
“ My dance is finished ? ”  
No, that's the world's way : (keep the mountain-side,  
Make for the city !)  
He knew the signal, and stepped on with pride  
Over men's pity ;  
Left play for work, and grappled with the world  
Bent on escaping.



That is, he called for more and more manuscripts to decipher (and here Browning insinuates something greater than grammar as a grammarian's justification) :

"What's in the scroll", quoth he, "thou keepest furred ?

"Show me their shaping

"Theirs who most studied man, the bard and sage,—

"Give !" So, he gowned him,

Straight got by heart that book to its last page :

Learned, we found him.

But of course he paid for his zeal by bodily affliction :

Yea, but we found him bald too, eyes like lead,

Accents uncertain.

"Time to taste life", another would have said,

"Up with the curtain !"

Still the grammarian went on :

"Grant I have mastered learning's crabbed text,

"Still, there's the comment."

So long as there remained something unread, he would go on reading ; until he had gathered all books had to give, he would persist solely in reading. For his disciples, this is a superb illustration of a dedicated life, though, tyro-like, their moral generalisations about it hardly fit into Browning's sense of the exigencies and duties of living.

O such a life as he resolved to live,

When he had learned it,

When he had gathered all books had to give !

Sooner, he spurned it.

Image the whole, then execute the parts—

Fancy the fabric

Quite, ere you build, ere steel strike fire from quartz,

Ere mortar dab brick.

The grammarian's peculiar grace

—That before living, he'd learn how to live—

Browning does not usually hold up as a worthy way of life ; for, as here, it involves a very un-Browning-like contempt for Time and Time's circumstances.

Others mistrust and say, "But time escapes ;

"Live now or never !"

He said, "What's time ? Leave Now for dogs and apes !

"Man has Forever."

So the studies went on—and brought with them disease and ill-health, the stone and wasting :

Back to his book then : deeper drooped his head :  
*Calculus* racked him :  
 Leaden before, his eyes grew dross of lead ;  
*Tussis* attacked him.

But nothing diverted him : back to his grammar, or as these linguistic disciples magniloquently and magnificently put it—

He (soul-hydroptic with a sacred thirst)  
 Sucked at the flagon.

And the end came :

So, with the throttling hands of death at strife,  
 Ground he at grammar ;  
 Still, through the rattle, parts of speech were rife :

as he was dying, he cleared up difficult points about Greek conjunctions and enclitics. So ended the man who “decided not to Live but Know”. As a scheme of life, it is such as Paracelsus had discovered to be not only tragic, but frustrate ; and generally Browning finds little manhood in those to whom, as to his grammarian, life's lure is pale. Even so, as a temporary ideal for undergraduates—and it is put here as the creed of a body of undergraduates, the grammarian's pupils—it has its palpable advantages. To turn ruthlessly from the pleasures of life during the three or four years given to a University course is part of the moral and intellectual profit of education : or at least, it might be. In effect, however, Browning contrives to insinuate more familiar and more striking moral implications more or less as accidental by-products of the particular system pursued by the ascetic grammarian. The students applaud—and properly applaud—the wide scope of the grammarian's alleged vision (though grammar as the main-spring of a Renaissance is what only later historians may see, and grammarians themselves are the worse grammarians when they pretend to see it) : and they phrase their approval by formulating an economical ideal which seems only to be better than the vulgar herd's penny-wisdom which they had scorned because it ensures bigger profits in the end :

Oh, if we draw a circle premature,  
 Heedless of far gain,  
 Greedy for quick returns of profit, sure  
 Bad is our bargain !

But morally—and dramatically—the trait which secures their, and Browning's, most enthusiastic recognition is one which almost seems forced into the picture. They see in this decrepit book-worm (and who but they with any dramatic truth could have seen it ?), an example of the decisive audacity, the courageous seizing of a desperate main chance which is for Browning always the mark of the spiritual hero :

He would not discount life, as fools do here,  
 Paid by instalment.  
 He ventured neck or nothing—heaven's success  
 Found, or earth's failure.

To distinguish this act of moral bravery from a mere gambler's bravado means, for these students at all events, and perhaps for Browning also, that the argument must leap from morals to religion :

Was it not great ? did not he throw on God,  
 (He loves the burthen)—  
 God's task to make the heavenly period  
 Perfect the earthen ?

That low man seeks a little thing to do,  
 Sees it and does it ;  
 This high man, with a great thing to pursue,  
 Dies ere he knows it.  
 That low man goes on adding one to one,  
 His hundred's soon hit :  
 This high man, aiming at a million,  
 Misses an unit.  
 That, has the world here—should he need the next,  
 Let the world mind him.  
 This, throws himself on God, and unperplexed,  
 Seeking shall find him.

*The Statue and the Bust* requires less exposition, largely because it is narrative and not dramatic. The poet, Browning, is telling the story, and though he dramatises it in the telling,



he acts throughout as commentator and mentor in his own proper person. The ethical notions promulgated are the poet's own, and have not to be disentangled from the mind and personality of his dramatic creations. Briefly, its story is this. Years ago, a leading citizen of Florence, the Duke's political agent, brought from the south his new young bride. On the afternoon of her arrival, from the window of her new home, she saw the Grand Duke ride past the house. He too, had a glimpse of her. They fell in love at a glance. At that evening's ceremonial reception each felt confirmed in the impression; and though overt communication was impossible, their manner was sufficient to arouse the husband's jealousy. So he decided to keep his wife a prisoner in their home. But both she and the Grand Duke, without each other's connivance, determined to fly at once to each other. She, however, delayed for a day, until her father had gone back to the south, and the Duke put off immediate action, because he needed next day the husband's political help. But every succeeding day provided some such motive for deferring the decisive action; and in the meantime, she saw him ride by from the window of her domestic prison, and he saw her face at the window. "So weeks grew months, years": in middle age, the lady, seeing silver in her hair, determined to place an image of herself on the cornice of her house; similarly the duke had an equestrian statue of himself set up in the square facing the house. Both felt that these would appropriately symbolise the futility of their lives.

To the lady;

" 'What matters it at the end?

" 'I did no more while my heart was warm

" 'Than does that image, my pale-faced friend.'

"What is the use of the lip's red charm,

"The heaven of hair, the pride of the brow,

"And the blood that blues the inside arm—

"Unless we turn, as the soul knows how,

"The earthly gift to an end divine?

"A lady of clay is as good, I trow."

The Grand Duke's conscious motive was similar, but more cynical :

John of Doway shall effect my plan,  
Set me on horseback here aloft,  
Alive, as the crafty sculptor can,

In the very square I have crossed so oft ;  
That men may admire, when future suns  
Shall touch the eyes to a purpose soft,

While the mouth and the brow stay brave in bronze—  
Admire and say, " When he was alive  
" How he would take his pleasure once ! "

And it shall go hard but I contrive  
To listen the while, and laugh in my tomb  
At idleness which aspires to strive.

That is the tale, and Browning proceeds to moralise on it. In the telling of the outward facts he has also dramatised the actors, and it is on such mortals as he conceives them to be that he passes judgment. To let oneself fall in love with another man when one has a husband, or to fall in love with another man's wife may of course be a mortal sin. But he is not for the moment concerned with moral principles. He is concerned with an episode which affected two human beings. What he observed was this. There was a Duke whose early life had been a merely mechanical routine existence :

The Duke rode past in his idle way,  
Empty and fine like a swordless sheath,

the mere simulacrum of a man. There was a lady, who despite her formal marriage had not yet given signs of having been so stirred in heart that those near her could note it. But now their eyes met.

And lo, a blade for a knight's emprise  
Filled the fine empty sheath of a man,—  
The Duke grew straightway brave and wise.

He looked at her as a lover can ;  
She looked at him, as one who awakes ;  
The past was a sleep, and her life began.

For the first time, both felt roused to realise their personality in the achievement of a purpose. Yet, as the story tells, they allowed the prompting which had stirred them to this realisation to sink into nullity. It is these two persons, and any others in their particular place, whom Browning proceeds to judge. On all counts, they failed ; now that they are dead

They see not God, I know  
Nor all that chivalry of his,  
The soldier-saints who, row on row,  
  
Burn upward each to his point of bliss—  
Since, the end of life being manifest,  
He had burned his way thro' the world to this.

The failure was in the first instance due to the fact that they lacked the strength of impulse to follow the course their instinct opened for them. As the weeks grew months and years

Gleam by gleam  
The glory dropped from their youth and love,  
And both perceived they had dreamed a dream ;  
  
Which hovered as dreams do, still above :  
But who can take a dream for a truth ?

In fact they had not lived, they had but dreamed of living. And though right living is the test of human goodness, it can only be reached by those who have started to live at all. So these two had not attained the qualification to begin a course of which the object is to achieve goodness. In their stage of probation it was first necessary to display possibilities out of which a moral life might or might not be fashioned. They failed their matriculation examination and were thus disqualified from embarking on the discipline to moral graduation. This matriculation need not overlap the curriculum of the degree course. The mental capacity suited to a study—say of Law or Theology—may well be evinced at this matriculation stage by a test in Latin :

a crime will do  
As well, I reply, to serve for a test,  
  
As a virtue golden through and through,  
Sufficient to vindicate itself  
And prove its worth at a moment's view !



The aptitude and promise of the athlete are displayed just as much whether the prize for which he runs is a blue riband or a gold cup.

Must a game be played for the sake of pelf?  
Where a button goes, 'twere an epigram  
To offer the stamp of the very Guelph.

For the immediate purpose, a golden sovereign is only the same as a button except that some inscription has been stamped on it—but, and again for its immediate purpose, the presence or absence of the stamp is quite irrelevant—

The true has no value beyond the sham;  
As well the counter as coin, I submit,  
When your table's a hat, and your prize a dram.

When your game is cards, with the top of a hat as the improvised table for an informal hand, and with the understanding that the winnings will pay for drinks round, then anything, matches, notches or buttons will serve as counters. But the test, the game, is the same as if sovereigns were used:

Stake your counter as boldly every whit,  
Venture as warily, use the same skill,  
Do your best, whether winning or losing it,

If you choose to play! is my principle.  
Let a man contend to the uttermost  
For his life's set prize, be it what it will!

The Lady and the Duke had chosen to play their questionable game; they had proved themselves lacking in the qualities without which success in the noblest games is impossible.

The counter our lovers staked was lost  
As surely as if it were lawful coin;  
And the sin I impute to each frustrate ghost

Is—the unlit lamp and the ungirt loin,  
Though the end in sight was a vice, I say.  
You of the virtue (we issue join)  
How strive you? *De te, fabula!*

That is the whole issue of this poem. The test is not of achieved goodness or badness, but of capacity which may be the begin-

ning of goodness ; the ability to strive. If, moreover, you still reproach

‘ But delay was best,  
For their end was a crime ’—

you are led into the larger ramifications of Browning's doctrine of the moral possibilities of love.

There is no good of life but love—but love !  
What else looks good, is some shade flung from love,  
Love gilds it, gives it worth.

It is the life-breath of the soul,—the air in which the soul may be invigorated to exercise its own spiritual purification.

Beneath the veriest ash, there hides a spark of soul,  
Which, quickened by love's breath, may yet pervade the whole  
O' the grey and, free again, be fire, of worth the same,  
Howe'er produced for, great or little, flame is flame.

The beginnings of love may be mere brute appetites, but it is an appetite if brutish yet a truth. Rising gradually in man to desires excited by sensuous beauty, it climbs from the mere liking of the eye and ear to the true longing of the heart that loves. As a physical sensation, love and lust are mechanically similar :

there is passion in the place,  
Power in the air for evil as for good,  
Promptings from heaven and hell as if the stars  
Fought in their courses for a fate to be.

But as a moral experience, love and lust are poles apart. Lust takes all for its own gratification, love gives all for the good of the beloved. This is the love, which in man's degree, is God's own spirit ; and love is for Browning the greatest attribute of God. But that is a topic to develop in a survey of Browning's religion.

Turn now to *Rabbi ben Ezra*, remembering that once again Browning is speaking dramatically, that is, letting Rabbi ben Ezra utter ben Ezra's sentiments independently of whether they are Browning's or not. The subject could have suggested itself easily at any time from the stock of Browning's rabbinical lore, and its oriental imagery echoes biblical phrase and picture. But Browning must have been prompted to his particular choice

by a recent publication, destined to become famous. Even more than Browning's poem, it is steeped in oriental image and phrase, but it uses them to generate a sentiment and a morality anathema to Browning. *Rabbi ben Ezra* appeared in 1864. In 1859 Fitzgerald had published anonymously his poem *The Rubāiyāt of Omar Khayyām*. Much of its fatalistic hedonism is imaginatively expressed in the play of images of bowls and cups, and thence of potter and clay. Isaiah's and Jeremiah's sense of God's omnipotence—"we are the clay, and thou our potter", "Behold as the clay is in the potter's hand, so are ye in mine hand"—produces other sentiments in Omar—pity for man's helplessness, and anger against God's tyranny :

For in the Market-place, one Dusk of Day,  
I watched the Potter thumping his wet Clay ;  
And with its all obliterated Tongue  
It murmured—' Gently, Brother, gently, pray ! '

With Earth's first Clay They did the last Man knead,  
And then of the Last Harvest sow'd the Seed :  
Yea, the first Morning of Creation wrote  
What the Last Dawn of Reckoning shall read.

Oh, Thou, who didst with Pitfall and with Gin  
Beset the Road I was to wander in,  
Thou wilt not with Predestination round  
Enmesh me, and impute my fall to Sin ?

Oh, Thou, who Man of baser Earth didst make,  
And who with Eden didst devise the Snake ;  
For all the Sin wherewith the Face of Man  
Is blacken'd, Man's Forgiveness give—and take !

The allegory carries Omar into speculative and theological questioning : " who is the Potter, pray, and who the Pot ? " Can God be as immoral as he seems to be ?

' Surely not in vain  
My Substance from the common Earth was ta'en,  
That He who subtly wrought me into Shape  
Should stamp me back to common Earth again.'

Another said—' Why, ne'er a peevish Boy,  
Would break the Bowl from which he drank in Joy ;  
Shall he that *made* the Vessel in pure Love  
And Fancy, in an after Rage destroy ? '



None answer'd this ; but after Silence spake  
 A Vessel of a more ungainly Make :  
 ' They sneer at me for leaning all awry ;  
 What ! did the Hand then of the Potter shake ? '

Hence, for Omar

How long, how long, in infinite Pursuit  
 Of This and That endeavour and dispute ?  
 Better be merry with the fruitful Grape  
 Than sadden after none, or bitter, Fruit.

' Ah, fill the Cup '—and snatch the one joy in the one moment  
 which is man's life :

One Moment in Annihilation's Waste,  
 One Moment, of the Well of Life to taste.

Ah, Love ! could thou and I with Fate conspire  
 To grasp this sorry Scheme of Things entire,  
 Would we not shatter it to bits—and then  
 Remould it nearer to the Heart's Desire ?

*Rabbi ben Ezra* is Browning's retort to this trend of oriental philosophy and ethic, and Browning's use of the image of the potter and his wheel seems to be chosen to draw attention to the opposition, even though in some ways it distorts the underlying ideas of his own beliefs. The Rabbi's creed is not presented as a purely rational structure. It is not just an abstract logical philosophy. He is ruminating rather than thinking ; he is expressing experience rather than analysing argument. In a way, his sense of life is rather æsthetic than intellectual. He recalls his accumulative apprehensions of life, feels them to fit into a pattern, and then allows his reason to expound the relations within the pattern and his imagination to conjecture its other implications. The radical sense is that of a harmony composed of the balance of opposites—youth and age, body and soul, earth and heaven, man and God. The ethical outcome of this prevailing mood is an apprehension of life as a preparation for immortality ; and the bulk of the poem is the Rabbi's enunciation of the kind of conduct in life which best realises this purpose.

The structure of the poem is magnificently poetical. It does not follow the inevitable course of logical argumentation.

It starts with a frame of mind, and continues the rumination as the prevailing mood prompts, filling the interstices between the affirmations with subsidiary argumentation where necessary. But, as a dramatic poem, it is primarily an expression of affirmations and not of proofs. They are the affirmations of a man in whom living has led to certain beliefs; and these are stated at the outset to be taken as clues to the mood of the man who is uttering them. The whole poem follows æsthetically and dramatically from the data of the first of its stanzas :

Grow old along with me !  
 The best is yet to be,  
 The last of life, for which the first was made :  
 Our times are in His hand  
 Who saith " A whole I planned,  
 " Youth shows but half ; trust God ; see all nor be afraid."

That is what the Rabbi has come to believe ; life is planned by a benevolent God for man's greater good. The rest of the poem shows how the believer reconciles the apparent contradictions in the experience of living and how he perceives from them the outlines of man's duty.

An attempt to summarise the poem will only produce a series of statements torn from the mood which gives them their poetic validity ; but it will at least draw attention to the main ethical tenets. The brief years of youth are given to exhilarating excitements, hopes and fears which never achieve the top of aspiration. But these rebuffs are its real achievement ; for doubt and disappointment are the sparks which disturb our clod, stimulants to effort, and so to a realisation of man's lot as creative :

Nearer we hold of God  
 Who gives, then of His tribes that take, I must believe.

Moreover, the disappointment of failure is in itself evidence that man is something more than animal—because animals and the animal in man are obviously capable of satisfaction :

For thence,—a paradox  
 Which comforts while it mocks—  
 Shall life succeed in that it seems to fail :  
 What I aspired to be  
 And was not, comforts me ;  
 A brute I might have been, but would not sink i' the scale.

The animal, the body, arms and legs alone, cannot provide all the spirit needs for its joy. Yet our sense of the exquisite interplay of sense and spirit, body and soul, induces an actual awareness that life is a perfect divine plan; hence the incomplete satisfaction of soul, contrasted with the easy satisfaction of body, awakens a presumption of other occasions for its completion. Even as man, one may enlarge the mutual co-operation of body and soul :

Let us not always say  
 "Spite of this flesh to-day  
 "I strove, made head, gained ground upon the whole!"  
 As the bird wings and sings,  
 Let us cry "All good things  
 "Are ours, nor soul helps flesh more now than flesh helps soul!"

And so the intuitive conviction is strengthened; age comes into the plan to grant youth's heritage. The first experiences of age in this rôle are sufficient to suggest still further extensions of the plan—and to cause the whole of mortal life to be apprehended as one part in a still wider plan. In the meantime, the occupation of age will be more with spirit than with flesh, intellectual rather than physical experiences, sifting values of life rather than continuing experiments in living. In its turn this act of passing judgment reinforces the conviction that human life is part of a harmonious order :

So, still within this life,  
 Though lifted o'er its strife,  
 Let me discern, compare, pronounce at last,  
 "This rage was right i' the main,  
 "That acquiescence vain:  
 "The Future I may face, now I have proved the Past."

This confidence is not full knowledge, but it is sufficient for man's degree. His expectation of what age would be has justified his hopes.

"Thou waitedst age: wait death nor be afraid."

Moreover, within limits of such certainty as enable men absolutely to know the right hand from the left, one may certainly know what on earth is Right and Good. If such confidence has in fact (as it had in the Rabbi) reached complete



conviction, then man may and must trust his own judgment though

Ten men love what I hate,  
Shun what I follow, slight what I receive ;  
Ten, who in ears and eyes  
Match me : we all surmise,  
They this thing, and I that : whom shall my soul believe ?

Hence, though out-voted, he can propound methods of moral assessment which would justify his standard of values against the majority's—

Not on the vulgar mass  
Called ' work ', must sentence pass—

but " all instincts immature, all purposes unsure " are essential factors in the assessment.

Thoughts hardly to be packed  
Into a narrow act,  
Fancies that broke through language and escaped ;  
All I could never be,  
All, men ignored in me,  
This, I was worth to God, whose wheel the pitcher shaped.

At this point

" Ay, note that Potter's wheel,  
That metaphor ! "

Ben Ezra has traversed the ethical matter of the poem. He now rounds off his doctrine by formulating the metaphysical or theological implications which were implicit in the first stanza of the poem. It is here that he takes up Omar's heresies :

Ay, note that Potter's wheel,  
That metaphor ! and feel  
Why time spins fast, why passive lies our clay,—  
Thou, to whom fools propound,  
When the wine makes its round,  
" Since life fleets, all is change ; the Past gone, seize to-day ! "

He sees the Potter's wheel as " the dance of plastic circumstance, this Present ", and time and circumstance are the machinery just meant to give man's soul his bent, try him, and turn him forth, sufficiently impressed. For the moment, in stressing the function of circumstance, to stir man into activity, he slides

over the impassiveness of clay and the fact that the grooves impressed on it by the wheel are not only sufficient, but final and entirely without the active co-operation of the material: for the moment, that is, the consciousness of God annuls the other consciousness which is no less integral in Browning's thought, the consciousness of self. The metaphor makes man entirely a creature without creative power in himself: and that is contrary to Browning's full awareness of life's elements. So he gives to the clay an incongruous knowledge of its own purpose, and an equally incongruous capacity to participate in its own unending making. But before reaching the last stanza, the clay as clay has been pushed out of our immediate realisation, and as symbol of man's flesh it enables the Rabbi to utter his final conclusion in a stanza of benign confidence:

So, take and use Thy work;  
 Amend what flaws may lurk,  
 What strain o' the stuff, what warpings past the aim!  
 My times be in Thy hand!  
 Perfect the cup as planned!  
 Let age approve of youth, and death complete the same!

Such is the ethic pronounced by Rabbi ben Ezra. In general, it comprehends the main articles of Browning's own beliefs. But not inappropriately in a dramatisation of the Rabbi, there are some aspects of Browning's sense of life which cannot be brought out in this context. There is, for instance, no mention of the ethic of human love. That, however, as well as much more explicit commentary on morality in general, will be found in the book of the Pope in *The Ring and the Book*.

I remind you of the story of the poem. In Florence, in 1860, Browning picked up, on a second-hand bookstall, an Old Yellow Book. It was mainly a collection of documents about a murder trial in 1698. This was the tale they told.

In 1693 an impoverished nobleman, Guido Franceschini, married a young girl, Pompilia, the real or supposed daughter of two obscure Roman citizens, apparently with the hope of acquiring their small property. He lived unhappily with her in his gloomy poverty-stricken castle at Arezzo for over three years. He said she was an unfaithful wife, she said he was a

vicious and cruel husband. In April, 1697, she ran away to join her putative parents and was escorted by a young priest Caponsacchi. Her husband pursued her and had the two of them arrested on a charge of adultery. In September the appropriate Court heard the charge; without definitely finding them guilty, it imposed a sort of precautionary detention on both. In December Pompilia gave birth to a child in her parents' home. On 2nd January Guido and four accomplices secured admission to the house, and killed his wife and her parents (Pompilia surviving her wounds for four days). By an oversight of his the murderer was detected, arrested and tried. For him it was pleaded that the birth of the child outraged his honour and justified the murder; for her it was held that the child was his, that the fact of realising that she was to bear a child had first prompted her flight, and that as soon as the child was born, Guido, now assured of the entailed inheritance, could put his wife out of the way finally. On 18th February the court convicted Guido and his associates. As one who had taken minor orders, he exercised his benefit of clergy and appealed to the Pope. The Pope dismissed the appeal and Guido was executed.

In the book of the Pope, we find him just as he has reached his judgment, but before sounding the bell and sending the verdict to Guido, he ruminates on the parts all the actors, including himself, have played in the story. He sits there in his little simple sanctum—

Suddenly starting from a nap, as it were,  
A dog-sleep with one shut, one open orb,—

he speaks—

—The Pope's great self,—Innocent by name  
And nature too, and eighty-six years old,  
Antonio Pignatelli of Naples, Pope  
Who had trod many lands, known many deeds.  
Probed many hearts, beginning with his own,  
And now was far in readiness for God—

He cried of a sudden, this great good old Pope,  
When they appealed in last resort to him,  
“I have mastered the whole matter: I nothing doubt.”



He has been reading the records of the papacy, particularly a chapter which makes him realise that papal infallibility does not exempt him from all the moral human responsibilities involved in reaching major decisions. He is giving a fallible man's verdict. As a mere man he is judging. Yet with full cognisance of this fallibility, he is in no wise irresolute, and he chooses to rely on his human and not his papal authority.

But be man's method for man's life at least !  
Wherefore, Antonio Pignatelli, thou  
My ancient self, who wast no Pope so long  
But studiedst God and man, the many years  
I' the school, i' the cloister, in the diocese  
Domestic, legate-rule in foreign lands—  
Thou other force in those old busy days  
Than this grey ultimate decrepitude—  
Yet sensible of fires that more and more  
Visit a soul, in passage to the sky,  
Left nakeder than when flesh-robe was new—  
Thou, not Pope but the mere old man o' the world,  
Supposed inquisitive and dispassionate,  
Wilt thou, the one whose speech I somewhat trust,  
Question the after-me, this self now Pope,  
Hear his procedure, criticize his work ?

So as a mere old man of the world, without reliance on the mystical illumination of his papal enthronement, he gives the grounds of his judgment. In Guido he finds " this black mark ", that he believes in just the vile of life, low instinct, base pretension. A crucial test is the motive for his marriage :

He purposes this marriage, I remark,  
On no one motive that should prompt thereto—  
Farthest, by consequence, from ends alleged  
Appropriate to the action ; so they were ;  
The best, he knew and feigned, the worst he took.  
Not one permissible impulse moves the man,  
From the mere liking of the eye and ear,  
To the true longing of the heart that loves,  
No trace of these : but all to instigate,  
Is what sinks man past level of the brute  
Whose appetite if brutish is a truth.  
All is the lust for money.

So Guido is trafficking in human instincts, in particular the instinct through which man has reached love and thence begun

to know morality and God, merely to secure a material and worse than brutish comfort. He is vile to the core. He shames manhood.

Pompilia, on the same grounds of assessment, is perfect in whiteness. It was not given to her to know much, speak much, to write a book, to move mankind, but in purity and patience, in faith held fast despite the plucking fiend, in right returned for wrong, most pardon for worst injury, she showed herself a symbol of human goodness. She bore the discipline of duty to her parents, to her husband, and to the law until she realised a sanction more compelling than all these ; and then she accepted the new obligation and lived as entirely for its imperative demands as previously she had lived for the lesser duties. Morally, she rose from law to law, promoted at one cry o' the trump of God to the new service, not to longer bear, but henceforth fight, be found sublime in new impatience with the foe. Knowing herself mother-elect, she felt the inexorable demands of what the Pope calls God and fools call Nature ; she accepted the obligation laid on her, to save the unborn child, as brute and bird do, reptile and the fly, even tree, shrub, plant and flower of the field, all in a common pact to worthily defend the trust of trusts, life from the Ever Living. The call was authentic to the experienced ear of the good and faithful servant. She had realised by compelling instinct that love transcends itself in service, and that by sacrificing self and the world's or the church's general law, she would fulfil the law which according to the idiom is life's or Nature's or God's. She realised self in self-sacrifice.

Caponsacchi, the priest, the warrior-priest, is proved next to Pompilia in worthiness. Much there had been amiss in his routine life—

This masquerade in sober day, with change  
Of motley too—now hypocrite's disguise,  
Now fool's costume :—

but in the end he had responded with such championship

Of God at first blush, such prompt cheery thud  
Of glove on ground that answers ringingly  
The challenge of the false knight,

that he had displayed himself the hero—

How throughout all thy warfare thou wast pure,  
I find it easy to believe—

Pompilia's predicament had aroused in him an instinctive sense of active duty, and the doing of it—the championship by nominal elopement of just such a girl—had exposed him in his ardour to other human temptations—

perchance  
Might the surprise and fear release too much  
The perfect beauty of the body and soul  
Thou savedst in thy passion for God's sake.

The trial was indeed sore, and the temptation sharp. But all the greater was the moral opportunity.

Thank God a second time !  
Why comes temptation but for man to meet  
And master and make crouch beneath his foot,  
And so be pedestaled in triumph ? Pray  
"Lead us into no such temptations, Lord."  
Yea, but, O Thou whose servants are the bold,  
Lead such temptations by the head and hair,  
Reluctant dragons, up to who dares fight,  
That so he may do battle and have praise.

In judgments like these of the Pope on Pompilia and Caponsacchi, there is the fundamental principle of Browning's ethical belief. Man is a potential spiritual energy ; his energy is distinct from the beasts when by one of the major episodes of common life, say, on the one hand, the threat of great danger, or, on the other, the falling in love, he is overwhelmed with a strong compulsion to do something which is not immediately for his own gratification, but is palpably for the good of another. He has become human ; he has recognised *to philanthropon* as man's primary instinct. He has learnt love, which is the impulse of God. The insight comes to him in those stresses of circumstance when his whole nature is wrought to vitalising activity, when his insight and oversight, his blood and his heart, his nerves and his mind, his body and his soul are roused to simultaneous operation. The faculties of awareness in his whole sentient being unite as one instinct to direct his immediate action in the decisive emergency. For humanity at large, the falling in love,



and especially for woman, the intimations of motherhood, are nature's most powerful moments of such stresses. They become compulsions in which self is sublimated in service. They are realisations of the spirit of love; and love, which springs from God as the divine way of binding creator to creature, is the sole way of joining humanity in a progressive spiritual community.

Because Browning had such a direct sense of life as a moral experience, his artistic interest is in crucial moments, not in the repetitive routine of habit; in conflict rather than in placid concord; in apparent failure rather than in obvious success, in endeavour rather than in attainment; in action rather than in rest, in earth rather than in heaven. The most symbolic incident of the moral life is temptation. But in all such decisive moral moments, the normal encouragements of law and custom, warmth by law and light by rule are superseded as by the advent of the authoritative star, mysterious unacknowledged powers of the air, and uncommissioned meteors, and the deepest instinct of natural man leaps out into prompt response. In one form or another, that instinct is 'love'. Caponsacchi leapt as if stung by the first summons—'Play the man!' and the response immediately shaped itself as 'pity the oppressed'.

As is proper, the Pope continues his ruminations to build the articles of his ethical code into a full religious system. In the main, however, his moral judgments have been the outcome of his experience amongst men; and whatever their religious implications—which must be pursued on some other occasion—they presuppose as a conviction based on the wisdom of an old man of the world, that one of the deepest instincts of the mass of men is a preference for seeing their fellows happy rather than miserable. Whatever other sanctions Browning's ethical doctrine aspires to, it can always plead this humanitarian or humane basis. If that were not so, his whole sense of the moral life would be a ludicrous perversion, capable of exalting mere might into goodness. So, too, his fundamental belief in the overwhelming significance of the moments, the flashes struck from midnights, the fire-flames noondays kindle, when this or that natural impulse insists on play unstifled: unless long experience of men justifies a trust in the humane springs of human

life, this confidence in impulse at the auspicious moment would be the warrant for licentious anarchy. Browning knows this, of course. Yet he is in no wise irresolute: with full confidence he accepts Caponsacchi as the fit symbol of exalted human worth:

For see this priest, this Caponsacchi, stung  
At the first summons—"Help for honour's sake  
"Play the man, pity the oppressed!" No pause,  
How does he lay about him in the midst,  
Strike any foe, right wrong at any risk,  
All blindness, bravery and obedience!—blind?  
Ay, as a man would be inside the sun,  
Delirious with the plenitude of light  
Should interfuse him to the finger-ends—  
Let him rush straight, and how shall he go wrong?

Such then is Browning's conception of the noble life. It is the creed of a man who was ever a fighter in the soul's crusade; never slothful, mawkish or unmanly, never aimless, helpless, hopeless, but

One who never turned his back but marched breast forward,  
Never doubted clouds would break,  
Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,  
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,  
Sleep to wake.

It is a creed which somehow seems conspicuously English. It sounds like an echo in the nineteenth century of the clarion-call of Milton. It is the assertion in ethics of those values which, in the domain of politics, were impelling Englishmen to construct, in the routine of corporate life, a social idea and mechanism which reconciled law and liberty, individual and state, in a body politic which is the English Constitution. The terms change; independence renames itself as individualism; freedom is reason then, and conscience now; but both epochs see the only moral life as the same experience—an exercise of free choice where there is knowledge of good and evil. Remove freedom, remove evil, and morality has been destroyed. Wherefore life is an invigorating adventure in personal responsibility and that is the one way in which man can at one and the same time save his own soul and the soul of humanity. As in Shakespeare, as in *Sordello*, self realises itself not in selfishness but in deliberate selflessness. Where Shakespeare, Milton and Browning are, an Englishman may claim that he too need not fear to be.

## THE FOLGER SHAKESPEARE MEMORIAL LIBRARY.

By H. B. CHARLTON, M.A.

THE 'restless inquietude for the diuturnity of our memories' has urged men to the endowing of pyramids, arches and obelisks in the pathetic hope of 'extending our memories by monuments': and most of such means of 'being but pyramidally extant' have proved a 'fallacy in duration'. But if oblivion can be frustrated in the blind scattering of her poppy, the founding of a library would seem to be a way in which man may subsist in a more lasting monument. To the names of Bodley, Rylands, Huntington is surely added that of Folger.

A generation ago, when one read of Folger snapping up another Shakespeare Folio, one imagined an American millionaire applying Wall Street methods to the cornering of shares in culture. The impression was wrong. The Folger Library is a precious gift to the world of scholarship; and in the shaping of it, the Founder displayed a fine union of philanthropic large-mindedness and cunning insight into the complex mechanisms by which the Library he planned might most faithfully serve learning. He decided to build the Library in Washington where it would be near other treasure-houses of accumulated knowledge. He insisted on making it a place where a student could feel at home, and so he instructed his architect to put open fireplaces in the reading room. He devised its governorship to the officers of an academic corporation, and, though he died before the building was above ground-level, his wisdom has been justified in his governors.

He had already accumulated a large collection of books and MSS. broadly classified as Shakespeare and Shakespeariana. His instinct led him to specialise in collecting, but to specialise generously; and Mr. Rosenbach was at his elbow to advise in the purchasing. The nucleus is Shakespeare: but that leads to Shakespeare's times, his predecessors, his contemporaries, his successors; it leads from drama to poetry, then to politics and



theology ; in another line, from fiction to history and travel ; and when it takes on criticism, it means covering Shakespeare's repute down the ages. In the main, the Folger collection was a gathering of Elizabethan drama surrounded by everything antecedent, contemporary and consequent, which is pertinent to the full understanding of it. Very fortunately the Trustees, who on Folger's death took over the administration of the Library endowment, secured as its director a man eminently learned in Tudor and Elizabethan letters, Joseph Quincey Adams ; and he now presents his first *Report of Progress*, covering the first ten years of the Library's public service.

It is an exciting and impressive record of achievement. As one watches the spread of the Library's activities, not only in securing more books but in developing the services which make them best available to scholarship, one cannot help but feel that the pioneer activities of our own John Rylands librarian have played their part : the photostat service, the publication of facsimiles (how one envies the owner of a set of Folger facsimiles !), the exhibitions and the lectures—in these ways, Folger now does as the John Rylands has done, except that Folger finances are more opulent.

The main part of the report is devoted to the accessions since Folger's death. The account of them is a tribute to the Founder's foresight, and a testimony to the piety and the wisdom of the Director. The governing principle in extending the Library's stock has been the law that a library is not a heap, but a collection, of books. It does not amass haphazard ; it seeks out and chooses. It maps its own field and then plans to bring together all that falls therein. For example, in a general description of the accessions of English Printed Books 1475-1640, the Director says that the guiding principles of purchase have been to secure (1) items of the period believed to be unique ; (2) items not represented in American libraries ; (3) items which through rarity or intrinsic importance are particularly valuable to students of Elizabethan literature ; (4) items which complete or carry towards completion the Folger collections of particular authors ; and (5) items that have special bibliographical interest for scholars.

The manner of procuring the items thus desiderated has been

as astutely wise as the principles on which they were chosen. Others before Folger had acquired private libraries, and generally, like Folger, had built them round a main interest. The Folger has followed its founder in looking for opportunities to acquire notable collections which other collectors had brought together. Most notable of its successes in this kind were the purchase of the great Harmsworth collection of printed books, and the acquisition of many of the Loseley Park MSS.

It is impossible to mention here the scores of items the mere naming of which is a thrill to the student of Elizabethan life, thought, drama and poetry. There are MSS. hitherto unknown, and still unpublished; there is the Coleorton Hall collection of early printed plays; there is a complete collection of all printed editions of Massinger's dramas, and eight separate plays with his own MS. corrections of the text; there are the most elusive copies of works by Harington, Daniel, Quarles and Francis Bacon. But two of the accessions recorded must be specially named, as illustrative of the Library's riches and of its principles.

The first is a copy of William Lambarde's *Archaionomia*, 1568. It was bought for a pound from Sotheby's as one of three undescribed items going with King James's *Triplici Nodo*, 1609. The Folger really wanted the *Triplici Nodo*, and thought it worth the pound paid for the particular lot. But it found the included Lambarde particularly and unexpectedly exciting. On the inside of its vellum cover was a curious MS. note: 'Mr. W<sup>m</sup>. Shakespere Lived at No 1 Little Crown St. Westminster. N.B. near Dorset steps'. Later, the crumpled title-page was ironed out, and revealed the signature 'W<sup>m</sup>. Shakespere', previously concealed by the many tiny wrinkles. The whole armoury of bibliographical research, microscopic, chemical and photographic, was turned on to the signature; and it seems almost certain that the Folger really has one of the few real Shakespeare signatures.

The other instance illustrates another phase of the Folger in action. After the war had started, the Folger obtained a substantial Rockefeller Foundation grant for buying books. The Foundation requested that, if it was proposed to buy any important item from England which Englishmen might consider 'a national treasure', the approval of appropriate English authorities should

be sought before purchase, and, if purchase was so approved, a complete photo-reproduction of the item purchased should be given to the British Museum. The Folger bought its Donne MSS. with this Rockefeller grant ; it gave the British Museum a bound photographic copy. That is the sort of practical Anglo-American fellowship which magnificently symbolises the internationalism of scholarship.



## ROBERT MERRY—A PRE-BYRONIC HERO

By JAMES L. CLIFFORD, Ph.D.,  
LEHIGH UNIVERSITY, BETHLEHEM, PA.

OF the many cross-currents of romanticism in the late eighteenth century the one which has aroused the most ridicule is the so-called Della Cruscan movement. Its very name has become synonymous with all that is vapid and absurdly superficial. Yet some of the leaders of the movement will repay serious study, as evincing interests and traits usually associated with the more famous romantic poets in the next century.

It is not the purpose of the present article to discuss in detail the whole Della Cruscan episode, although in the light of recent discoveries some re-estimate is sorely needed;<sup>1</sup> but rather to print excerpts from an interesting series of letters written to Mrs. Piozzi by the self-styled Della Crusca himself, Robert Merry. This correspondence, largely now in the John Rylands Library, actually reveals many facets of his character much better than do his published poems. It shows the erratic idiosyncrasies of a gifted man who somehow lacked the balance and discipline needed in a great writer. Merry had all of the surface traits of a Lord Byron—the spectacular love affairs, the masochistic sense of evil in his own nature, the feeling of tremendous inner power and pride in his own resources. And he had, too, many of Byron's redeeming traits—his hatred of oppression, his intense feeling about human freedom, his passionate worship of beauty. But something was missing, and instead of the misunderstood genius he thought himself to be, Merry appears to us, after a century and a half, merely a foolish *poseur*, vainly striving to impress the world with his greatness.

<sup>1</sup> There is no thorough, accurate analysis of the movement in print. J. M. Longaker's *The Della Cruscans and William Gifford*, Philadelphia, 1924, was written without any consultation of manuscript material or even the files of the *World* newspaper. For partial accounts see R. B. Clark, *William Gifford*, New York, 1930; R. Marshall, *Italy in English Literature, 1755-1815*, New York, 1934; and my own *Hester Lynch Piozzi (Mrs. Thrale)*, Oxford, 1941.

Robert Merry was born in London in April, 1755—his father a governor of Hudson Bay Company, and his mother the eldest daughter of Sir John Willes, Lord Chief Justice.<sup>1</sup> At an early age he was sent to Harrow, where his tutor was the celebrated Dr. Parr, and later to Christ's College, Cambridge. But from what meagre records we have of his early years it is apparent that he was too gay and independent to enjoy quiet academic life. He was admitted to Cambridge April 2, 1771, was irregular in his studies, and finally left without a degree. From the start he had been destined for the law, and for a time was actually entered at Lincoln's Inn, but he found the pleasures of London fashionable life more to his liking. Wealthy, handsome, and high-strung, he threw himself with vigour into the dissipations of the Capital.

At his father's death Merry inherited an independent fortune. His first act was to purchase a commission in the Horse Guards, and as a dashing officer he must have cut something of a figure. Gambling, it will be remembered, was the popular vice of the day: at White's and Almack's it was not uncommon for young bloods to lose ten, fifteen, or twenty thousand pounds in an evening's play. Young Merry, consequently, soon had lost a large part of his fortune, and was forced to sell out his commission as adjutant and lieutenant to the first troop commanded by Lord Lothian. Ruined financially, and unable to continue his pleasant life in the London clubs, the pleasure gardens, the masquerades, and the salons, Merry saw only one recourse left open to him—to go abroad and spend the next three or four years wandering about France, the Low Countries, Germany, Switzerland and Italy. On the Continent he could live more cheaply, but still pose as a fashionable English gentleman and philanderer. At twenty-five, then, "a disappointment to everybody but himself,"<sup>2</sup> he set out for new adventures.

We do not know much about his early wanderings about Europe, but by 1784 he had joined the English colony at Florence, where he idled away his time in a variety of pursuits. Like

<sup>1</sup> The chief authority for Merry's early life is his obituary notice, *Gent. Mag.*, LXIX (March, 1799), 252-4. The account in the *D.N.B.* is largely derived from this.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. Cramb, in the *D.N.B.* account of Merry.

Lord Byron, Merry always found three things necessary for his existence: love, literary ambition, and disillusionment with the social and political tenets of the day. In Florence he found ample opportunity for all three. He carried on an active and dangerous liaison with the notorious Lady Cowper—active because he was young and ardent, dangerous because his rival for the affections of the lady was the ruling Grand Duke Leopold himself.<sup>1</sup> He found release for his artistic and social ideals in writing verses and discussing politics with a group of dissident Italian authors. These last were more than mere dilettante scribblers, for included in the group were Ippolito Pindemonte, Lorenzo Pignotti, and the Count of Elci, some of the finest poets of the day.<sup>2</sup> They introduced the young Englishman to the subtle rhythms and verse forms of Italian poetry, and seem to have encouraged him to imitation and translation.

Shortly before Merry's arrival in Florence, the Grand Duke Leopold of Tuscany had abolished the famous Accademia della Crusca, founded for the purpose of stimulating pure poetry in the manner of the great classics, Dante and Petrarch, and instead had instituted the Accademia Fiorentina, which he kept under his own control. Merry became a member of the latter institution, but his native liberal spirit chafed under the arbitrary curb now placed on literary and artistic composition. Together with two other young Englishmen, Bertie Greatheed and William Parsons, and encouraged by his Italian friends, he decided to attempt to revive the old ideals of the banished Accademia della Crusca. It might thus be possible to circumvent Leopold and still uphold the precious traditions of Tuscan poetry. Spurred on by these hopes, Merry, Parsons and Greatheed began to write numerous verses, often imitating Italian rhymes and meters and on Italian themes. Space does not permit more of a discussion of the work of this Florence coterie, which has been excellently described by Dr. Roderick Marshall in his *Italy in English Literature, 1755-1815*. It may be enough

<sup>1</sup> A. Hayward, *Autobiography of Mrs. Piozzi*, 2nd ed., London, 1861, II, 92-3, 198.

<sup>2</sup> R. Marshall, *Italy in English Literature, 1755-1815*, pp. 174-92. Merry translated one of Pignotti's poems, published in 1785 in Florence as *Roberto Manners, poemetto in versi sciolti*.



to say that in 1784 a few of this group of political and literary malcontents combined to issue a little volume called the *Arno Miscellany*, being a collection of fugitive pieces written by members of a society called the Oziosi.<sup>1</sup> But of far more importance was another collection, printed the next year, entitled the *Florence Miscellany*.

Elsewhere I have told the story of Mrs. Piozzi's arrival in Florence in the early summer of 1785, of her introduction to this mixed group of Italo-English poets, and of the printing of the *Florence Miscellany*.<sup>2</sup> Although she herself wrote the Preface to the work, she does not seem to have had any inkling of the serious implications of some of the verses. What interested her were the light stanzas of compliment and graceful romance which filled the volume. It might even be suspected that she was far more intrigued by the poets themselves than by their work. At least we know that she was immediately attracted to the good-looking, flamboyant Merry, so much so that when he was threatened with arrest by their landlord, Meghitt, she moved to another hotel.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, Merry's dangerous liaison with Lady Cowper provoked a bit of well-meaning if too flowery advice :

Thou too, who oft hast strung the lyre  
To liveliest notes of gay desire,  
No longer seek these scorching flames,  
Or trifle with Italian Dames,  
But haste to Britain's chaster Isle  
Receive some Fair-one's virgin smile,  
Accept her vows, reward her truth  
And guard from ills her artless youth :  
Keep her from knowledge of the crimes  
Which taint the sweets of warmer climes ;<sup>4</sup>

While this moral suggestion probably made little impression on the lover, it at least helped to cement what appeared on the

<sup>1</sup> Printed in Florence at the Stamperia Bonducciana, 1784. It is not known exactly who the contributors to this volume were, but Merry was probably involved. See Walpole's letter to Sir Horace Mann, August 9, 1784. (Any standard edition.)

<sup>2</sup> *Hester Lynch Piozzi (Mrs. Thrale)*, pp. 248-54.

<sup>3</sup> MS. called "Mainwaring Piozziana," now in the possession of Sir Randle Mainwaring, II, 53.

<sup>4</sup> *Florence Miscellany*, p. 210.

surface to be a fast friendship. Consequently when the Piozzis left Florence in September for Southern Italy they left the emotional Merry in tears, fearing that they might never meet again.

Travelling south through Rome, the Piozzis finally reached Naples, whence the lady sent news and verses to her new friend in Florence. Merry replied on January 10, 1786, in the first of his letters now known to have survived. In a fulsome strain of compliment he began :

Your elegant verses dear Madam which I received in your obliging letter of the 26<sup>th</sup> of Dec<sup>r</sup> gave me great pleasure, they are *masterly*, or rather *mistressly*, in short they are worthy of the pen of Mr<sup>s</sup> Piozzi. They appear to me excellent throughout, but the 4<sup>th</sup> stanza pleases me particularly.

Where mid cold Staffa's columns rude  
Resides majestik solitude—

are two divine lines, and the epithet majestik is extremely beautiful. Continue Madam to charm your absent friends by your writings and delight those that are near with your company, for in good truth your talents and information would have made you respectable had you not been agreeable, and at the same time your personal accomplishments and amiable manners must have made you agreeable had you been without talents. don't suspect me of flattery ; for I never use it—<sup>1</sup>

During the autumn the small stock of copies of the *Florence Miscellany*, which had been privately issued, had become exhausted, and Merry added that he had written to Parsons, the nominal editor, about a reprinting. So far he had had no reply. Then, after many ardent expressions of hope that he might soon see them back on the banks of the Arno, he closed with a postscript :

I dare say it was Mr Dickinson who did not like my verses. I here send you some bad verses in return for your good, they are melancholy, but that is the genius of my *muse*. . . .

Just what verses Merry inclosed in his letter we are not certain, but not long afterwards Mrs. Piozzi had in her possession a version of his long poem *Paulina*, for early in May when she

<sup>1</sup> The original of this letter is now in the Adam collection in the library of the University of Rochester, Rochester, N.Y. It was sold by Mrs. Piozzi's heirs at Sotheby's on January 22, 1907.

and her husband with the Greatheeds floated on a barge down the Brenta from Padua to Venice they occupied their time reading "that glorious poem."<sup>1</sup> Her approbation was immediately written to Merry, still in Florence, along with another request for copies of the *Florence Miscellany* and with news of her own recent publication in London of the *Anecdotes of Dr. Johnson*. He replied on May 29, 1786 :

I received Dear Mrs Piozzi's obliging letter by the last post, and am extremely sorry it is not in my power to send her any Florence Miscellanies, as my stock is totally exhausted, this I hope however her goodness will excuse. . . . Your approbation of *Paulina* flatters my vanity not a little, and as I have made several alterations and additions, I mean to give it to the *world* with my other Poems immediately by means of the renowned M<sup>r</sup> Cadell, who has undertaken to print them at his own risque. I therefore implore your protection and encouragement for these my unfortunate children when you may happen to meet them in company, and am sure you will palliate their absurdities and faults, out of kindness to their father who has a most sincere and unalterable regard for you and M<sup>r</sup> Piozzi. I shall most certainly leave this place in a few weeks, or probably days. I shall first direct my course to Switzerland ; and then homewards. and I hope it may be my lot to find something like happiness yet before I die. but I have been so long accustomed to the reverse that I almost despair. My worthy friends the Greatheeds will not be convinced that England has any defects or its societies any inconveniences, or *Seccaturation* till they have again been there, when I prophecy that they will soon undertake another Journey. . . .<sup>2</sup>

Then with a florid and complimentary close he added, as usual, a postscript : " I heard from Parsons the other day, he was very well and sent me some good verses. He is an excellent young man."

The fact that Merry had been able to find a reputable London publisher like Cadell willing to consider bringing out his verses may be explained by the fact that some of his work had already been surreptitiously published in England with definite success. As Parsons wrote to Mrs. Piozzi on July 8, " The Editors of the *European Magazine* have somehow got hold of the *Florence Miscellany*, and are entertaining their readers every month with selections from it."<sup>3</sup> Actually, excerpts had been printed not

<sup>1</sup> H. L. Piozzi, *Observations and Reflections*, London, 1789, II, 184.

<sup>2</sup> J.R.L. Eng. MS. 558, 1.

<sup>3</sup> The original was formerly in the possession of the late Mr. A. Edward Newton. See also Parsons' letter to Mrs. Piozzi, October 1, 1786, from London, for his later reactions (*Ibid.*, 17).



only in the *European Magazine* from February through June, but in the *London Chronicle* as well. Merry was in England for a short time during the summer of 1786, and there can be little doubt that he, like Parsons, was inwardly pleased to see his verses in the English public prints. At least we know that neither made any real move to stop the numerous quotations from the *Florence Miscellany*, which continued to appear during the autumn. Merry himself was probably more interested in speeding the publication of his narrative poem, *Paulina ; or, the Russian Daughter*, a rather distressing tale founded on a real example of parental severity. "The renowned Mr Cadell" declined to publish the work (if indeed he ever considered it), so that when the slim quarto finally did appear in the spring of the next year it was brought out by Robson instead.<sup>1</sup>

Still finding England not too hospitable, Merry spent the autumn of 1786 again in Italy, but when the Piozzis finally reached Brussels early in February, 1787, they found him in the English colony there, as usual dashing off verses on any and every opportunity. Moreover, from Mrs. Piozzi's diary we know that he had now begun the practice of sending them at once to newspapers across the channel.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the reason was that one of his old intimate friends, Edward Topham, a fellow commoner at Cambridge and a fellow officer in the Horse Guards, had started a paper which he called the *World*. Aided by the Rev. Charles Este, Topham was attempting to make his paper an upper-class social journal;<sup>3</sup> consequently he welcomed light occasional verse from any of his wide acquaintance. He may even have actively solicited contributions. Certainly it was only after Topham, on May 21, had printed a half-column sketch of the life of Robert Merry, ending with the desire that he soon publish his writings, that the stream of verses from

<sup>1</sup> It is reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, LXXVII (Oct. 1787), 325.

<sup>2</sup> *Thraliana*, ed. K. C. Balderston, Oxford, 1942, II, 796. All following references are to this admirable edition, recently published. See also the *World*, February 20, 1787.

<sup>3</sup> For additional information about Topham and Este, see *Memoirs of the Life of Mrs. Sumbel, late Wells*, London, 1811; John Taylor, *Records of My Life*, London, 1832, II, 289; C. Este, *My Own Life*, London, 1787.

Merry began to flow.<sup>1</sup> When they did, they were not signed directly, but instead by the famous *nom de plume* by which he was ever afterward known. On June 29, 1787, the *World* published a poem, "Adieu and Recall to Love," signed "Della Crusca."

It will be remembered that Merry had never been a member of the famous Accademia della Crusca. He merely assumed the name because it stood in his mind for resistance to oppression and for the priceless heritage of great poetry. As an active liberal and a romantic poet, he must have felt that the very name was symbolic of his ideals.

The romantic combination of disillusionment and hope in "Adieu and Recall to Love" struck an immediate response in at least one female reader. Who could resist the closing lines?

O rend my heart with ev'ry pain !  
But let me, let me love again.

Certainly not the lady who signed herself "Anna Matilda"! She answered on July 10, "O! Seize again thy golden quill," and the famous poetical correspondence had begun. For the next two years in the *World* the sentimental verses between Della Crusca and Anna Matilda continued, while the reading public watched enthralled. Since Merry was on the Continent for much of this time there were often long intervals between their interchanges. But throughout the entire period Merry kept bombarding the *World* with verses on various other topics. During the next six months poems signed by Della Crusca appeared in issues of July 26, 31, August 10, 21, 23, 25, September 27, October 17, 23, 30, November 16, December 5, 25, 31, only three being directly addressed to Anna Matilda.<sup>2</sup>

Della Crusca's verses made an immediate appeal to a certain class of readers. Mrs. Piozzi had from the first thought "exceedingly highly of Merry's poetical powers";<sup>3</sup> and Topham

<sup>1</sup> Verses by Merry had appeared in earlier issues, for instance, see the *World* for February 20, 1787, but the number was not great until after June of this year.

<sup>2</sup> Burney collection of newspapers in the British Museum.

<sup>3</sup> Letter to Samuel Lysons, November 4, 1785, printed in *Bentley's Misc.*, XXVIII (1850), 314. See also *Thraliana*, II, 682. Anna Seward's opinion, on the other hand, was not so favourable. See J.R.L. Eng. MS. 565, 6.

on November 18, 1787, wrote to his mistress, Mrs. Wells: "The verses of *Della Crusca* are the most beautiful things I ever saw or read in my life. I would give all that I am worth to be the author of them."<sup>1</sup> To us to-day, familiar as we are with the work of the great romantic poets of the next century, such a critical estimate seems incredible, but it must be remembered that in 1787 Merry's extravagant use of epithets, his foreign themes, and his occasional obscurity were new and exciting. What Shelley and Byron did supremely well Merry tried to do and failed. Nevertheless, to many readers of his own day the excesses and lack of classical restraint were appealing. Moreover, the mystery surrounding his *nom de plume* increased the romantic appeal, and the editors were quick to use all the devices at their disposal to increase curiosity. Of course, Topham and Este knew the identity of the author, but they did not want the public to know. Thus on December 31, 1787, after printing Della Crusca's "Elegy," they added a note that the Della Cruscan verses were anonymous and sent from Europe. The last had been posted from Brussels.<sup>2</sup> The editors further attempted to stir up interest by printing numerous conjectures as to the authorship. On January 2, 1788, the supposition was advanced that the verses were written by "Mr. Vaughan and his daughter," and on April 3 were listed numerous attributions, including Edward Jerningham, William Coxe, William Mason, and Mrs. Damer.

While curiosity was rife in London social and literary circles, Merry secretly arrived in England from Brussels.<sup>3</sup> That he

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of the Life of Mrs. Sumbel, late Wells*, I, 69.

<sup>2</sup> In *Thraliana*, January 2, 1788, Mrs. Piozzi wrote: "Mr Merry is a prodigious capital Writer of Verses, his Elegy on the 31<sup>st</sup> of Dec<sup>r</sup> is demy divine—what Pity that Fellow should put himself out of Friendship's reach to help or forward so—perhaps the Public will take up his Cause & I hope they will—no *one* Person could save Merry from Destruction, except Miss Pulteney would marry him. I am in hourly fear of hearing he has cut his own Throat" (II, 703-4).

<sup>3</sup> Horace Walpole wrote to the Countess of Ossory on December 16, 1787, of a Captain Merry who was to act at Richmond House, and the next day added that "Mr. Merry is an excellent Lissardo." Probably this was Robert Merry's brother, who also had been in the army. It is doubtful that Robert Merry arrived in England from Brussels much before February, 1788.



hugely enjoyed making as much of a mystery about his movements as possible is evident from his correspondence. He had been built up into a mystery man and meant to play the part.<sup>1</sup> Merry had not seen Mrs. Piozzi for a year; he had last written to her on May 29, the preceding spring.<sup>2</sup> Wishing now to renew old acquaintance, he wrote to her on February 20, 1788:

With shame and confusion I throw myself upon your mercy. I confess myself guilty of negligence towards you, but never of forgetfulness—However culpable I may appear in not having sooner acknowledged the happiness I received from your last letter I can yet assure you the fault has been in my hand and not in my heart. My tongue is often most silent when my feelings are the strongest, and I am frequently prevented saying what I ought, from the despair of saying what I wish. To be ranked amongst the number of your friends the world will readily allow to be an honor, but I know also that it is the greatest consolation. I never can forget the happy hours I have spent with you and M<sup>r</sup> Piozzi, or how much I owe to your Countenance and kindness, still to enjoy both is my ardent wish, and I trust will be my fortune, though I am conscious never can be my desert. There is no need for me to own that I have many vices, though there is much for me to prove that I have any virtues—yet in good truth I have one, and that is gratitude—may your belief of the assertion save me from your displeasure. Write me then Dear Madam a line of forgiveness (under cover to my Brother) it will be a charity that if not well bestowed shall be most thankfully received. I grow more and more attached to study and reflection though the latter teaches me that the goodness of my friends towards me proceeds from pity and not from approbation. I languish for Johnson's letters which I see are promised, though not so much as for one from you which from my conduct I can scarce promise myself—but which the knowledge of the benevolence of your temper flatters me will be granted. *Paulina* has produced me a trifle, a mere trifle—but if it has gained me your suffrages, my reward is sufficiently great. Perhaps you know I sometimes write under the signature of Della Crusca, tell me your real opinion of any of those compositions—but I fear you will rather think me of the *Straw* than of the *Bran*. But I have encroached too long upon your time.  
...<sup>3</sup>

Then after more compliments, he significantly added: "At present, and for some little time longer, I should be obliged to my friends not to say that I am in England."

<sup>1</sup> Some of his desire for secrecy, to be sure, may have resulted from financial difficulties, and a fear of creditors.

<sup>2</sup> I have not seen this letter. It was sold at Sotheby's on January 22, 1907.

<sup>3</sup> J.R.L. Eng. MS. 892.

One week later, on the 27th, he wrote again :

Your very kind and flattering letter gave me both pleasure and consolation, and your approbation of Della Crusca was truly grateful to his vanity. I rather doubt Miss Seward being Anna Matilda, as she says in her last Ode

“ Love on my couch has pour’d each sweet ”

Now tho’ the circumstance is very possible, yet the confession is hardly probable for a *Miss*.

. . . I should be most sincerely hurt if Greatheed should meet with any disappointment about his Tragedy. he is an excellent Man, and I hope will gain the fame he has a right to expect. As Pope says, “ the Players and I are luckily no friends.” My *Tragedy* was half approved, and then quite rejected. perhaps it is well for me, as the condemnation of a play, is the destruction of all fame.

In the Course of a very few months I shall either be married or look at the Turks with the Russian Army. in both cases you see I may chance to get the plague tho I wish to remain quiet in England. I have seen enough of foreign pleasures, foreign follies and foreign miseries, and am so well convinced of the decided superiority of my own Country in every thing essential, that to remain in it, *ducere leniter aevum*, and enjoy the company & conversation of my worthy friends is the utmost of my ambition.

Should you chance to see in the papers an account of the late Pretender, you may guess the Author. Adieu Dear Madam. May every comfort and happiness ever attend yourself & M<sup>r</sup> Piozzi thro a long life is the constant prayer of Y<sup>r</sup> most grateful & truly affectionate Friend

Robert Merry.<sup>1</sup>

Of his activities during the next few weeks we have only hints from Mrs. Piozzi in her journal and engagement books.<sup>2</sup> From the latter it is evident that Merry, together with Parsons and Greatheed, came to a few of her entertainments, though the friendly link between the former collaborators was close to breaking. Merry was irked because Greatheed, under the pseudonym of Reuben, had ventured to address lines to the unknown Anna Matilda.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, both Merry and Greatheed had written tragedies, but Greatheed was much more successful in getting his play, *The Regent*, produced, possibly because Mrs. Siddons had lived for some years with the Greatheeds at Guy’s

<sup>1</sup> J.R.L. Eng. MS. 558, 2. The lady whom Merry was considering marrying was, so Mrs. Piozzi suspected, Mrs. Hervey of Aiton, a popular novelist (*Thraliana*, II, 762). See also note 2, p. 82, above.

<sup>2</sup> See Hester Lynch Piozzi, p. 334; also *Thraliana*, II, 713.

<sup>3</sup> See the *World* for January 15, 1788, and Longaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-2.

Cliff.<sup>1</sup> Merry's, on the other hand, entitled *Ambitious Vengeance*, never reached the stage. The resulting jealousy, further fanned by Parsons' and Greatheed's obvious distaste for Merry's theatrical attempts at mystification concerning the Della Cruscan poems, at last led to a complete rupture. Just what brought on the final explosion we may never know; but something certainly stirred the excitable Merry to frenzy. On March 24 he dashed off a hurried scrawl to Mrs. Piozzi:

As I have received numberless marks of kindness from you, I am emboldened to ask a favor of you—which is that you will endeavour to discountenance an opinion which is gone forth, & which I have foolishly encouraged of being the Author of those Poems signed Della Crusca. The truth of this odd affair I will one day clear up to you, in the meantime believe me Ever. . . .<sup>2</sup>

Scrawled at the side was, "I am going abroad immediately! Parsons & Greatheed have entirely cut me—but that's natural!" and on the reverse, "The account of the Pretender is not what I wrote." Then at the top, as an afterthought, he thanked her for the present of her edition of Johnson's letters.

Was there ever such a sudden about-face? Only a month before he had confided to Mrs. Piozzi the secret of his authorship of the Della Cruscan verses, a fact which she had long known, and now he wished her to tell everyone the reverse. The lady could certainly be forgiven if she was a bit puzzled and disgusted. Even when Merry called on the 28th and attempted to make some explanation, the air was not cleared.<sup>3</sup> A week later, when writing in *Thraliana* of the first appearance of Greatheed's play and its subsequent temporary closing because of Mrs. Siddons' illness, she commented:

Merry has not behaved quite right somehow, giving us all Suspicion that he envies Greatheed—very foolish if so, no Man breathing—no Man who has breathed since Thompson drew his last Sigh can write like *Della Crusca*.

<sup>1</sup> T. Campbell, *Life of Mrs. Siddons*, London, 1834, I, 51-2. *The Regent* first appeared on March 29 and was favourably received. After the second night it was withdrawn because of the illness of Mrs. Siddons. Late in April it was revived. According to the *World* it then played to packed houses, and the receipts for the fourth night were £300. For references to the tragedy see the *World* for April 10, 18, 24, 26, 28, May 5, 10, 19, and June 4.

<sup>2</sup> J.R.L. Eng. MS. 558, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Listed in her engagement book for 1788 (J.R.L. Eng. MS. 616).



Greatheed is good, and flexible, and kind hearted, high in Principles of Religion, & sweet of Temper ; too easy perhaps, and plastic in the hands of artful or violent Associates, who can without much difficulty mould him as *their* Passions not *his own* direct.

Were Jaffair a better Character, he would resemble Greatheed.

Merry is a dissipated Man become truly wicked ; by Accident, rather than by Principle however : of elegant and airy Manners, but of a Melancholy and apparently Conscience-smitten Spirit. his Distresses interest one's Tenderness, his Courage & Learning claim one's true Respect ; Merry is a Scholar, a Soldier, a Wit and a Whig. beautiful in his Person, gay in his Conversation, scornful of a feeble Soul, but full of Reverence for a good one though it be not great. Were Merry *daringly*, instead of artfully wicked, he would resemble *Pierre*.<sup>1</sup>

Merry, who could so easily go from the heights of optimism to the depths, was now in one of his periodic fits of despair. After some weeks, on April 21, he wrote to Mrs. Piozzi :

I called at your house yesterday with intention to have taken leave of yourself and Mr Piozzi but as you were out, permit me to assure you in writing of my sincerely good wishes and to thank you for all kindnesses in all places. I have I believe written the last Poem I shall ever write, you will think me grown wiser than I was, and I feel I am more prudent. Literary pretensions awake malice and excite envy. Ignorance and Silence are treated with complacency. A most Elegant writer has somewhere said that " One Friend's unkindness is harder to bear than the wisest, and justest, and harshest censures of all the wits and scholars put together." Experience has lately convinced me of the truth of the above remark—it is a cruel conviction. yet I doubt not, I have been treated as I deserved, tho' not as I expected. Well in future I will take nothing to heart, & I will love nobody, for as I never can love any persons more sincerely than those whose unkindness and neglect I have of late experienced, so henceforth I shall care but little for others. I trust and hope I have not entirely forfeited *your* good opinion. . . .<sup>2</sup>

But although he had now foresworn further poetical endeavour, he added in a postscript :

A Quarto Edition of *certain Poems* with a Tragedy at the end, is now in the press. by what I hear, it will be the *finest & best printed* book in the language. The Editor means to dedicate it to Sheridan, as that gentleman (*ipse* of men) has offered to patronize it, and has expressed himself in terms of the strongest approbation of the verses of D.C. he said, *apropos* of the dedication, that nothing out of a political line would gratify him more.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> II, 714. Jaffair and Pierre are characters in Otway's *Venice Preserved*.

<sup>2</sup> J.R.L. Eng. MS. 558, 4.

<sup>3</sup> In Topham's dedicatory epistle to Sheridan, dated June 7, 1788, and prefixed to the published poems, he stated : " Of their merit, if my opinion has not

The kindhearted Mrs. Piozzi did all she could to effect a reconciliation between the old friends. She recorded that "Merry begged Greatheed's Pardon," and "tried very sweetly to make matters up";<sup>1</sup> but Greatheed and Parsons refused to be moved. Suspicion and jealousy had gone too far. On April 29 the angry Merry wrote from his brother's home in the country :

When I had the pleasure of seeing you at your own house—I thought the difference between M<sup>r</sup> Greatheed & me would have been over—but I was deceived—M<sup>r</sup> G had wrote me a very haughty & a very wise letter, wherein he *charges* me with never having called upon him—with having been mortified by the success of his Tragedy, and with having denied *certain Poems* to be mine. These offences which he calls *atrocious* I endeavoured to disprove—and concluded my letter (which I wrote him in answer) by saying that—if however I had offended him I would make any *concessions* rather than forfeit his friendship—that I most sincerely *begged his pardon*—to this unworthy condescension on my part he has returned no answer and not satisfied with treating me unlike a *friend*, he judges it apropos to treat me unlike a *Gentleman*. But milksop masters who have been tied to their mother's apron till they are twenty never know how to behave themselves.—but I should have myself recollected that the person who *does* the unkindness, never can forgive it. I suppose Greatheed is like Bayes—his play is his touchstone, if a man does not like his play, he knows what to think of him. As for the Chichester Mealman, Parsons, I am heartily glad to be off—I never much liked him—a certain priggish self sufficiency, with a pert ill-breeding which he constantly displays, always highly disgusted me—I never wish to see him again, or be forced to read any of his Poetry. his Daughters of Paeon, his amaranthian flow'rs &c &c—He is a Poet of Shreds & patches & his head is a kind of Herald's Office of poetical pedigrees. Yet this man whose mortification at my repute as D.C. was so visible as to strike my Brother on the first interview, this man has poisoned Greatheed's mind, & taught him to believe *I* felt envy. But as they declared war against me without cause, I shall enter the lists without fear—I will show them no more mercy than they have done kindness to me. yet will I always be a fair and open enemy.<sup>2</sup>

His one hope was that the contagion of ill opinion had not "spread to her heart" also. Then he added :

On Monday I go abroad (if nothing happens to prevent me). I mean immediately to go to Russia, and if possible I shall return in November, to publish some *works*. One Poem in which there is neither *spleen Satire* nor *ridicule* I shall take the liberty to address to you.

been declared, I am free to say I know no modern Poems their superior. I am more happy that your opinion has confirmed mine."

<sup>1</sup> *Thraliana*, II, 717.

<sup>2</sup> J.R.L. Eng. MS. 558, 5.

D.C. will not be published this month—I have sold them *outright*—and not badly. when they are finish'd you will receive a copy. . . . I shall often trouble you with a letter while on my travels. I have brought my affairs into a decent train, & am not liable to any more distress.

Two days later Mrs. Piozzi made the entry in *Thraliana* : “ Merry—our charming Della Crusca is gone to Paris in Company with Mr Este ;—should Parsons meet 'em there, some sparring might ensue.”

The next letter from Merry was despatched from Rheims on June 2, 1788. After a somewhat mixed and sententious opening,

If the Circle of our friendships becomes every day smaller, it should grow warmer as it contracts, like the rays of a burning glass—when we have shaken away the chaff though we have less in quantity, what remains is solid grain,<sup>1</sup>

he insisted that when he had been abroad before he had not been too sure of her regard for him, but now he was convinced. Moreover, he recommended to her good graces his own sister and brother.

Since I left you I have passed ten days at Paris—Mr Este was with me part of the time he is a very worthy sensible pleasant man and I lament his loss extremely. I am now going Northward—instead of to Spain, which country I shall reserve for a winter. . . .

I have got the Regent, or rather the *Poem which Mr Greatheed lays before his Country*. I think the term *Poem* is ill applied to a work in which I hope to prove there is not a line of true Poetry. the language is mere literary lumber generally stolen, and always ill applied. The similies which have no exactness, put me in mind of plumbs which a dull housewife should thrust into her pudding after it was boil'd, & then call it a plumb pudding—an instant, which formerly used to seem an *age*, in this elegant production is a *world*. The plucking a Rebel from his *nest* is equally *happy*—Rebels used to have strong holds, and hiding places—now I find they have *nests*. Gomez walking across the scene, that Ansaldo may recollect him is called *stage effect*—but it puts me in mind of the old adage—Talk of the Devil and his imps will appear.—You may think me cross—but having discovered the *falsity* of that sentence in Sallust—“ quos aequae armis cogere, neque auro parare queas, officio et fide parantur ”—I shall now adopt for my motto—*nemo me impune lacessit*. if Mr Greatheed cannot feel, I will make him if possible repent, as I could not get justice, I will try to have revenge.

<sup>1</sup> J.R.L. Eng. MS. 558, 6. *The Regent* had been published on May 10.



Scribbled at the end was a postscript: "Bell has altered his intention of printing the book *so finely*." Obviously, he thought, all his hopes of a sumptuous printing for the Della Cruscan poems were to be dashed to the ground. Nevertheless, Bell, the publisher, was doing what he could to advertise the work of the distant Merry. As early as May 17 the *World* had printed a letter from Della Crusca empowering Topham to publish his verses, together with others, and ten days later the volumes were announced as forthcoming by June 1. The editors continued, moreover, to stimulate curiosity and interest. On June 19, when discussing the reprinting of the poems, they made the statement: "Conjecture is very much at a loss with respect to the Authors, who have been as secret as Junius in concealing their names." Della Crusca and Anna Matilda, the writer added, had been attributed by some to the same author; by others to Mrs. Damer, Mrs. Piozzi, Miss Seward, Miss More, Jerminingham, Pratt, Hayley, and General Conway. And when the two volumes of *The Poetry of the World* appeared, in Crown Octavo, the reviewer in the *Monthly Review* commented on the "great typographical elegance" of the work.<sup>1</sup> Certainly the writers of the poems had no reason to complain.

Meanwhile, Merry continued his wanderings about the Continent. On August 21 he wrote again from Morillon near Geneva:

I have been almost constantly on the wing since I left my dear Mr<sup>s</sup> Piozzi in Hanover square, and so I have not received any letters from the persons I love and esteem. . . . How does Greatheed go on, has he yet recovered from the intoxication of his success, does he yet descend to think himself but the second Hero upon earth, or does he assert universal empire? I have often thought that one is not to judge of a man's sense so much by his *excelling*, as by the manner in which he bears his *excellence*. If I had a mind to be ill natured I think I could cut up a certain tragedy in a capital manner, but my resentments are past, and

<sup>1</sup> *Monthly Review*, LXXIX (Nov. 1788), 449-52. The reviewer, after commenting on the mystery of authorship, adds that "Della Crusca is supposed to be Mr. Merry . . . several of his pieces claim a distinguished place in the class of modern poetry." Two more volumes (III and IV) of *The Poetry of the World* appeared in 1791, and are reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, VI, new series (Sept. 1791), 21-4. With the title *The British Album*, these poems, together with others, appeared in numerous editions, 1790-92.

when I think of the strange treatment I received, I feel no other emotion than what arises from contempt.

You know my intention was to go to Spain, and I got down to the frontiers, in my way to Madrid, but it was so hot, and the persons I saw coming thence, said it was a Journey thrown away ; and as I had nothing to expect, but to meet fevers, and vermine, and Parsons so I cut across France and came to this delightful spot, which I think surpasses all others in beauty.

I understand the Della Cruscas &c are come out, pray inform me how they are liked, but particularly how *you* like them. if there is not a line amongst them addressed to you, do not take it ill—I have only deferred what I have not forgotten. Give me your opinion of the Tragedy.

I met Parsons at Paris, we were lodged in the same Hotel. I know not whether he is a Phisiognomist but if he is, my countenance might have given him some reflections.

Write to me at Paris, a la post restante, pray do, I shall be there in about a month. . . .<sup>1</sup>

On the back of the sheet he added :

When I arrive in England, my earliest visit will be to yourself and I trust you will then tell me you are going to publish your delightful travels. I write a great deal, because I flatter myself that what I write you will read. yet my *strains* are not so melancholy as they used to be for I have been living lately in gay society, particularly at Paris, and the agitation of my mind is subsided, and the original tone of my character is restored, & I begin to be sans souci. I live here in a tourbillon of English, with whom I am rather popular.

Busy with her own writing, Mrs. Piozzi spent the late summer and autumn of 1788 at Exmouth and Bath. Nevertheless, Este in his letters kept her informed of the most recent news from Della Crusca. On August 29 Este commented: "His Letters, though quite unexciting, never fail to give me pensive sensations of the sweetest kind. Where is there any body more amiable?"<sup>2</sup> Then in late October or early November Merry returned to England, as usual *sub rosa*, and Este wrote to Mrs. Piozzi on November 12:

Della Crusca's Poem, and your Tour, are the chief things I hear of. So, there is no fear of any thing, but Envy. His Poem is Admirable. Not in the least overdone in kind report.—We meet almost every Day, & if drinking your health without wasting our own, will do for you, what you wish must be Already done. He is well & more & more Amiable—Tell it not that he is here.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J.R.L. Eng. MS. 558, 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 555, 66.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 67.

The same day Merry himself wrote to the lady, complaining of the loss of two of her letters, and asking when she and her husband were coming to London. "My poetical Mania," he continued, "is not so violent as it was, yet I am going to publish—after which I mean to go thro' a course of Hellebore and be quiet. Expulit Ellebro morbum bilemque meraco Et redit ad sese."<sup>1</sup>

When the Piozzis returned to London in December they did not see Merry, and the only comments in *Thraliana* have to do with his latest publication, a slim quarto of thirty-seven pages entitled *Diversity, an original Poem*.<sup>2</sup> This she found "very fine," but she suspected it would have few readers. "'tis about *nothing* so; and leaves such Nihility behind it. very fine all the Time, yet never will be quoted; and seldom read."<sup>3</sup>

Merry was included in the invited guests for her large New Year's party, but was called instead into the country, and could not accept.<sup>4</sup> Although his notes were just as full of compliment and excessive sentiment as ever, between the lines one might begin to read a subtle change. There had not been a word about Greatheed or Parsons in any of his letters during the last months of 1788. That episode in his life was evidently over. But with it also ended the intimacy with Mrs. Piozzi. She had been a sympathetic confidant, to whom he could explode about their common friends; now with new interests and new problems they gradually found less to discuss. Besides, Mrs. Piozzi, perhaps poisoned by her continued association with the Greatheeds, was beginning to be more suspicious of Merry's intentions. Even the friendly gestures of his sister and brother only seemed to generate distrust, and she later wrote in *Thraliana*:

here is Merry—dissolute, wicked, and I fancy wholly worthless; who can command his Family's Purse to supply his Vices, while their own Virtues need it; only because they are proud of *Della Crusca*.

<sup>1</sup> J.R.L. Eng. MS. 558, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, LXXX (June, 1789), 529-32, not too adversely.

<sup>3</sup> *Thraliana*, II, 726.

<sup>4</sup> J.R.L. Eng. MS. 558, 11, undated, accepts the invitation and 558, 9, of December 25, explains why he must decline.



There appeared an odd Combination of them all to coax me some Months ago—my Heart told me that Este and they were agreed to undermine it, in his Favour; & his own Behaviour in the only Visit he made us this Winter confirmed the Fancy. Whether they meant to get at my Money, or what they meant I knew not; but something they *did* mean.<sup>1</sup>

In this same entry, dated April 1, she added: "I find the Man is still in London skulking about somewhere."

Another episode in Merry's life, too, was coming to an end. Throughout all these months he had never been able to find out the identity of the writer who signed herself Anna Matilda. Of course he pictured her as young and lovely, a glowing creature who had fallen in love with his verses. As a result, the exchange had become more and more passionate, while the public eagerly awaited a *dénouement*. Finally, in the spring of 1789, with the help of the editors, Della Crusca and Anna Matilda met. Then all his ardour congealed as if by magic, for the lady was forty-six, fat, and not particularly attractive. Obviously he could not arouse as much enthusiasm for the popular authoress Mrs. Cowley as for the mysterious incognita, and in a carefully worded poem, "The Interview," which appeared on June 16, he brought the long series to an end.

Just before this occurred he made one last effort to revive his dying friendship with Mrs. Piozzi. On April 23 he wrote:

I ought and do beg you a thousand pardons for my long neglect of that attention which is due to you from me, and which I am most happy to pay, but for some time past I have been so extreamly occupied that I have been unable to give that observance I wished, to my private friends. The Ode recited at the Opera house by M<sup>rs</sup> Siddons was in part my composition, though a considerable portion was from a much abler pen than mine. I was applied to on the occasion from a quarter I could not refuse——

If you would have the goodness to favour me with a line to convince me that I have not entirely lost your good opinion, which I once flattered myself I in some degree possessed, I should esteem it a particular kindness, as I can sincerely assure you there is no person whose regard I more highly value, than yours. . . .<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> II, 740-41.

<sup>2</sup> J.R.L. Eng. MS. 558, 10. The Ode on the recovery of the King was spoken by Mrs. Siddons at Drury Lane on April 21. See also T. Campbell, *Life of Mrs. Siddons*, II, 160. The Ode was printed with *The Album of Streatham* by Ridgway, 4th edition, 1789.

Scribbled at the bottom is :

I am only in Town for a couple of days, but should you write to me in Red Lion Square, it will reach me immediately. When do your charming Travels come out—would you have the goodness to indulge me with a copy—If you should be at home (en famille) any evening this week, I should be happy to be permitted to wait upon you—

A day or so later Merry made good his promise, and on the 26th Mrs. Piozzi noted in *Thraliana* : “ I have had another Visit from the renowned Della Crusca, but His hopes (whatever they were) seem blown away. The Ode Sheridan & he together wrote lately, is not liked.”<sup>1</sup> But there was no indication of any return to the old intimacy, for she had lost all faith in the changeable wanderer. As she confessed in her journal, “ Este and Merry seem to have quarrel’d, by Della Crusca preferring the *Star*, & neglecting the *World* ; tho’ Miss Merry said how kind Este was ; they are all as false one as another I fancy ; I will never now be alone with any one of the Crew—I *know* them *now*.” She had had enough of such unstable friends. As far as we can tell their paths never crossed again.

The remainder of Merry’s life, after his break with Mrs. Piozzi, need not concern us at length in this present article, though it was just as hectic and variable as that which had gone before. With his hatred of oppression and love of liberty it was obvious that he would be deeply moved by the early struggles of the French Revolution. And in those exciting months following the fall of the Bastille Merry’s sympathies were so aroused that even the later terror did little to change his point of view. Faith in the “ Rights of Man ” became the touchstone of his existence ; he judged everyone and everything by it. As a result, he became actively associated with the little radical group of English sympathisers whose efforts were so abhorrent to Burke and the other conservatives.<sup>2</sup> At one time Merry even went so

<sup>1</sup> II, 743.

<sup>2</sup> On July 14, 1791, an Ode written by Merry in honour of the anniversary of the beginning of the French Revolution was recited before a crowd of almost fifteen hundred people in London. See *Gent. Mag.*, LXI (July, 1791), 673 ; *Monthly Review*, V, new series (July, 1791), 344 ; and Walpole’s letter to the Miss Berrys of July 26, 1791.

far as to present personally to the Convention in Paris a treatise on the "Nature of a Free Government."<sup>1</sup>

During the summer of 1789 he was in France, visiting the Assembly, and on his return to London in 1790 he published an ambitious poem, the *Laurel of Liberty*.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile he continued to send occasional verses to the English newspapers, but much of his zest for such writing was lost after the bitter and devastating attack by William Gifford in 1791, *The Baviad*.<sup>3</sup> Although Gifford was unfair in some of his criticism of the Della Cruscan writers, he did fasten effectively on their chief weaknesses as poets—their excessive use of artificial ornament, their needless obscurity, their orgies of sentiment. And after such an annihilating dissection, few British readers would ever again find the same delight in Della Crusca's outpourings. Nevertheless, he continued to strive for literary fame, and in the spring of 1791 finally brought out a tragedy called *Lorenzo* at Covent Garden.<sup>4</sup>

In *Lorenzo* the principal part of Zoriana was played by the beautiful and popular actress, Anne Brunton, whose charms proved too much even for such an experienced philanderer as Merry. Although he had narrowly escaped matrimony on numerous former occasions—once with a dancer at the Opera, so amusingly described many years later by Charles Lamb,<sup>5</sup> he could not resist the "voice that was all music, and a face all emotion" of Miss Brunton.<sup>6</sup> To everyone's surprise, they were married in August, 1791. Mrs. Merry continued to act

<sup>1</sup> *D.N.B.*

<sup>2</sup> By Robert Merry, A.M., Member of the Royal Academy of Florence. 4to, 38 pages, published by Bell. It is reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, IV, new series (Jan. 1791), 56-62. Walpole wrote to Miss Berry on November 11, 1790, that the poem had "confounded and overturned all ideas. There are *gossamery tears* and *silky oceans*—the first time, to be sure, that anybody ever *cried cobwebs*, or that the sea was made of *paduasoy*."

<sup>3</sup> See R. B. Clark, *William Gifford*, pp. 36-80.

<sup>4</sup> The published play is reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, V, new series (June, 1791), 201-5. In 1790 Merry had written the songs for a pantomime entitled *The Picture of Paris*, which was performed at Covent Garden. See the printed copy in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>5</sup> "Popular Fallacies," *The Works of Charles Lamb*, ed. Fitzgerald, London, 1876, IV, 158-60.

<sup>6</sup> See G. C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage*, New York, 1927, I, 452.



under her new name throughout the 1791-92 season, but the outcry of his family, who were outraged at the social stigma involved, finally forced her to withdraw from the stage. The complete failure of his comic opera, *The Magician No Conjuror*, in February, 1792, further added to his distresses, so that he and his wife left London for Paris, where, it seems, he narrowly escaped the guillotine.<sup>1</sup> At the height of the terror they returned to England. Here for the next three years Merry lived somewhat irregularly, "haunting the clubs, declaiming on freedom and the French Revolution, writing epigrams—some of which are very neat—against Pitt and his supporters."<sup>2</sup>

Despite his friend Topham's unfailing help, Merry sank deeper into debt and depression. The publication in 1795 of a play, *Fénelon*, an adaptation from the French, and in 1796 of a long poem, *The Pains of Memory*, stimulated by the more famous counterpart by Samuel Rogers, did little to better his position.<sup>3</sup> Thus when his wife was offered an engagement in America, he willingly agreed to accompany her there.<sup>4</sup> He never returned. Two years later, after enjoying some success as a poet and literary dictator in Philadelphia, while walking in his garden he fell in an apoplectic fit. Three hours later he was dead at the early age of forty-three.<sup>5</sup>

What, then, must be our final estimate of Robert Merry? These letters to Mrs. Piozzi certainly show him as vain, frivolous, unstable, and inordinately jealous. Yet we must remember that

<sup>1</sup> His escape is described by Walpole in a letter to the Countess of Ossory, September 10, 1792.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. Cramb, *D.N.B.*

<sup>3</sup> *Fénelon* : or the *Nuns of Cambray* is reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, XIX, new series (March, 1796), 274-7 ; and *The Pains of Memory* in XXI (Oct. 1796), 149-51. Of the latter the reviewer said : "experience has been well employed by Mr. M. in correcting that false glitter of language, and tinsel of imagery, which were justly blamed in a few of his earlier productions." See also P. W. Clayden, *The Early Life of Samuel Rogers*.

<sup>4</sup> It has been amusingly pointed out that while going to America Mrs. Merry crossed in the same ship with three men successively to be her husbands—Robert Merry, Thomas Wignell, the manager, and William Warren, the comedian of the company. See Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage*, II, 281-2.

<sup>5</sup> He died on December 14, 1798. See *Gent. Mag.*, LXIX (March, 1799), 252-4. In the United States Merry had brought out a drama, *The Abbey of St. Augustine*, and a new version of *The Pains of Memory*.

other evidence shows that he could appreciate good qualities in others and himself had high ideals ; that although he was intemperate and dissolute he later made a considerate, affectionate husband.<sup>1</sup> Though a *poseur* in many things, he had as unalterable a revolutionary spirit as that of Shelley. His weaknesses were the childish products of an immature and unbridled romantic temperament. His tragedy was the lack of critical restraint which vitiated his genuine creative gifts. Of his poetry perhaps the best estimate was made by a writer in the *Monthly Review*, when discussing his *Laurel of Liberty* :

Simplicity is lost in refinement. Nature and ease are buried under a load of artificial ornament, and cumbrous difficulty. What Dr. Johnson, with less reason, said of Gray, may be said of Mr. Merry : " He strives to make himself tall by standing on tip-toe." <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For instance, see *Journals and Correspondence of Thomas Sedgewick Whalley, D.D.*, ed. H. Wickham, London, 1863, II, 415.

<sup>2</sup> See note 2, p. 94.

## TWO HITHERTO UNKNOWN BIBLE VERSIONS IN GREEK.

By PROFESSOR DR. SAMUEL KRAUSS,  
CAMBRIDGE.

### *I. Ben La'ana and Ben Tilga Probably Identified.*

THE observation of a single word in the 'Arukh, the famous and most reliable Rabbinical Dictionary written by Rabbi Nathan of Rome (11th century), helped me, so I hope, to throw some light on a problem in Rabbinical literature which until now has seemed to defy every explanation. This problem is associated with the two names בן תלגה, בן לענה = Ben La'ana and Ben Tilga (hereafter signed B.L. and B.T. respectively).

The two names occur, as is known, in several Midrashic passages and in one passage of the Jerusalem Talmud, to the effect that their writings were banned along with those of Ben Sira. The Midrashic text (Qoheleth Rabbah) to Eccles. XII. 12<sup>1</sup> runs as follows: "And further, by these, my son, be admonished"—"for everyone who brings into his house more than twenty four books,<sup>2</sup> confusion<sup>3</sup> he brings into his house, for example: the Book of Ben Sira and the Book of Ben Tigla,"<sup>4</sup> "and much study is a weariness of the flesh"—"they are

<sup>1</sup> Folio 31a in ed. Wilna. I am laying this passage as base. Comp. Pesiqta Rabbathi c. 3 (p. 9a ed. Friedmann), and Bacher, *Agada der pal. Amoräer*, III, 357 and 757. Parallel passages are Threni Rabbah I, 1 (p. 42 ed. Buber) and Cant. Rabbah IV, 12 (folio 28b ed. Wilna). By Talmud Jerusalem is meant: Yerushalmi Sanhedrin X, 1 (folio 28a ed. Krotschin). The passages Gen. R. c. 8 and c. 91, as quoted by J. Levy (*Neuhebr. Wörterbuch* I. 240) to this point, belong properly to Ben Sira. See also Kohut, *Aruch completum*, II, 119, and Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, p. 714.

<sup>2</sup> The 24 canonical books are meant.

<sup>3</sup> מְדוּמָה of the text was read, מְדוּמָה.

<sup>4</sup> "Ben Sira"—the well-known apocryphal book. Yerushalmi has ספרי in the plural, and the same with B.L. On the contrary, Babli Sanhedrin loob and all Midrash texts have ספר in the singular.



destined to study, but not destined to weariness of the flesh.”<sup>1</sup>

Hitherto it has been entirely overlooked that the name תלגא occurs once elsewhere in our Rabbinical literature. I have in mind the quotation in ‘Arukh s.v. פלקט (ed. Kohut VI. 358, which is the best and standard edition), showing the following Midrashic text : תלגא, רב סיסי אמר פורפירן, ואלבישך רקמה, עקילס [פוקרטין] פולקטון, the translation of which will be made evident below.

From the ‘Arukh it is not clear whether the quotation concerns the Threni Rabbah or the Canticum Rabbah passage. It can be assumed that he had both passages in mind which might have had in his text the same sequence, as indeed there is no real difference between them. As by the Greek rendering the Bible word רקמה is to be interpreted, Kohut rightly supplements ‘Arukh’s quotation with other Bible words which in the LXX have the same Greek rendering ; this task has been more conspicuously executed in the Hexapla work of Field<sup>2</sup> and in the Concordance of Hatch and Redpath.<sup>3</sup>

What meaning can be claimed for the word תלגא in the Midrash text as quoted in ‘Arukh ? Kohut sets it in brackets and remarks (see his note 7) : “ Not to be found in Cant. R. and in Threni R. at the beginning, nor is it in ‘Arukh ed. Amsterdam ”.

In opposition to this verdict I have remarked in my ‘Arukh Supplement<sup>4</sup> that a series of reliable texts do have it : ‘Arukh ed. Venice 2, ed. Pesaro, ed. Basel, MSS. Elkan Adler 2 and 3

<sup>1</sup> The meaning is not clear, see commentaries, especially that of מהרד”ן, printed in the Wilna edition. Roughly the meaning is : you may study these books, but not in the way of the canonical books, which alone are destined to lead to “ weariness of flesh ”.

<sup>2</sup> Field, *Hexapla*, II, 803. Cp. *ib.* also the rendering of Syr. Hexapla.

<sup>3</sup> Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance*, s.v. ποικιλία. We learn that the same Greek word serves also to render the Hebrew מעשה מחשבת, חשב. *Ib.* also ποικίλλειν. The occurrence of the same Greek word is registered in my *Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter in Talmud, Midrasch und Targum* II, 112 and 475. The word בקילוס *ib.* 162 rendered by ποικιλός turns out false, as Imm. Löw remarks. So also *ib.* 452, פיקיילה does not belong there, a word for which I now show to Juḥasin (ed. London, p. 49b) : פי' כובעו it means : his hat (or cap).

<sup>4</sup> Hebrew title תוספות הערוך השלם. In Latin : *Additamenta in librum Aruch completum* Al. Kohut (Vienna, 1937), p. 327.

(now in the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York). The mere presence of this word in this passage cannot be an accident or a mistake of copyists. It is so entangled with the threat of the sentence that it cannot be separated from it. To have it crossed out would be a great philological error. By a little adjustment in the Midrash text as quoted in the 'Arukh the true meaning would be easily restored: חלגא תרגם פוקרטון, עקילס (or you can put Akylas and Tilga in inverted order).

By way of this an important discovery is made: a Bible word interpreted by T. appears side by side with that of Akylas! From this we learn that T. was known as the author of a translation of the Bible in Greek, and as the Bible passage quoted is taken from Ezekiel, he must have translated at least as far as this chapter, because it seems unlikely that there would be attributed to him the translation of this single book only.

That the Midrash passage as quoted in the 'Arukh must indeed be divided between *two* authors, in addition to R. Sisi's saying, deduces from the content itself. The one Biblical word רקמה has been interpreted by Sisi<sup>1</sup> with a single word: purple (purplish, pertaining to purple); the same proceeding is to be expected also in respect of the "Targum" Akylas; why should it be that *his* interpretation is given in *two* words פולקטין, פוקרטין as the text runs *now* in our editions?<sup>2</sup> To see in them only a variant would be a very delusive argument.<sup>3</sup> The parallel *lemmata* in 'Arukh, numbering three, indicate only *one* word, as is clearly studied by Benjamin Mussaphia, the learned interpreter of 'Arukh's intentions, who indeed glosses only one word. His reading is right, but T. does not appear in his text; it was extant in the original 'Arukh; the usual Midrashic texts and

<sup>1</sup> Correctly to be spelled סוסי and transcribed Σώσιος Sosius, s. *Lehnwörter*, *ib.* 377. That is clearly demanded by the word's ending in double Jod in the Yerushalmi, as shown in *Lehnwörter*, *ib.*; cp. also Y. Ma'aserot 48d. A Σωσᾶ (genitive form) occurs in Josephus, B.J. IV, 4. 2 (§ 235). "Sisi" is, however, 'Arukh's spelling, while our texts have "Simai".

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, 'Arukh ed. Lemberg, 1870.

<sup>3</sup> Jastrow, *Dictionary*, p. 104, writes (rendering Threni R., beginning) corr. acc. by striking out one of the two words as *var. lect.* that came into the text. In the main so also Kohut and before him also Mussaphia. The proceeding of Levy (*l.c.* IV, 57), honouring both loan-words, seems more justified.

their commentators did, however, simplify. In later times it seemed impossible to have a Bible translator named Tigla; so they let his name drop out. This was done in all our texts, even in Threni Rabbah and Cant. R., both having been quoted above, and in Pesiqta di R. Kahana (ed. Buber, p. 84b), where, however, only one Greek word is given,<sup>1</sup> and Tigla's word has been preserved only in 'Arukh's lemma פִּלְקֵט. The later writers, very little interested in Greek words, inclined, furthermore, to eliminate even such a name as that of Akylas (it is omitted in Yalqut, the big collection of all Midrashim), and it so happens, that where the name Akylas ought to be, now we find יִתְ (= Targum Jonathan) instead,<sup>2</sup> which is altogether a great puzzle.

As T. is named first, even before Akylas, he seems the earlier, though that is not definite.

## II. Doublets in Greek Bible Versions.

Both, T. and Akylas, translate and interpret this single word similarly, almost indeed by the same Greek word, as do also the LXX. This feature of interrelation can indeed be observed amongst our Greek translators, the LXX included,<sup>3</sup> as has already been observed by scholars. This lies in the nature of the case, and we have also other examples of it. In his valuable investigation in *ὁ Συρός* and the Peshitta<sup>4</sup> Joshua Bloch adduces many such cases, e.g. Ezekiel viii. 16, אֹלֶם, which *ὁ Συρός* renders by *κιγκλῖς*, while the usual word would be *κάγκελλον*, but it is evident that the two Greek words are synonymous terms. The use of one of them by this or that author is only a matter of style or taste. So also in our case. Between *ποικίλα* of the LXX, *ποικιλτά* of T., and *ποικιλτόν* of Akylas there is no difference whatever, and the variety shows only that a great fashion of rendering in Greek must needs have existed.

Can it be said that there have existed Bible translations in

<sup>1</sup> This text is accompanied by a very learned and exhaustive note of Solomon Buber, the editor of this Midrash, where the whole *Leidensgeschichte* of these Greek glosses is registered.

<sup>2</sup> In *Additamenta* quoted from the "short" 'Arukh (ערוך הקצר).

<sup>3</sup> Of course, this is true for Theodotion and Symmachus, too.

<sup>4</sup> *Jewish Studies in Memory of Israel Abrahams*, New York, 1927, p. 68.



Greek which remained unknown to us or survived only in feeble traces? That must be admitted. The aforementioned  $\delta$  Συρός is clearly such an example. Dr. Alexander Sperber, a successful inquirer in the field of Greek Bible translations, asserts that the so-called "recensions" of Lucian and Hesychius are rather to be regarded as independent "translations," thus indicating that the texts in question do not represent two recensions of one single Greek text (a meaning associated with the word recension), but two entirely different texts.<sup>1</sup> It may have some interest for our own investigation that what is singled out by the same author (*ib.* p. 82) regarding  $\text{בְּשִׁבְטָךְ}$  in Mic. vii. 14, which is rendered in Cyril's commentary  $\rho\acute{\alpha}\beta\delta\omega \phi\upsilon\lambda\eta\nu$ , that is by *two* words, should rightly be rendered by *one* word, "for I suppose that originally Lucian had here  $\phi\upsilon\lambda\eta\nu$  and Hesychius  $\rho\acute{\alpha}\beta\delta\omega$ , and Cyril combined both readings". This is closely analogous to what the present writer asserts: the Greek rendering of  $\text{רַקְמָה}$  was contaminated by the rendering of *two* authors! In our case, however, by two expressions which are closely akin to each other.

Again, Joseph Reider in his "Prolegomena"<sup>2</sup> makes the observation that in such cases "the signatures may be wrong, or the notes may have been attached to the wrong word". "Then we meet with doublets, one element in which alone can belong to Aquila." In a note he gives a list "which is fairly complete," unfortunately our case is not dealt with, as Rabbinics—Græca sunt, non leguntur. "Quite another matter are parallel renderings ascribed to Aquila which go back to two editions of his work; the subject is adequately dealt with by Field in his Prolegomena" (pp. xxiv ff.). In our case the thesis of *secunda editio* is not needed, as we have seen that the two renderings are to be attributed to two different authors; the case is similar to that of the two renderings by Cyril.

In the category of Bible translators whose works are almost lost to us I place also this T. named in 'Arukh's quotation side by side with Akylas. In this quotation he is not named *Ben T.*,

<sup>1</sup> "The Problems of the Septuagint Recensions," in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. LIV, Part II, 1935, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> *Prolegomena to a Greek-Hebrew and Hebrew-Greek Index to Aquila*, Philadelphia, 1916, p. 12.

as we might have expected, perhaps by reason of his name to conform to that of Akylas, or by the fault of the copyist, or even by that of R. Nathan himself, who shortens his texts drastically. The name "Tigla" is so singular and is nowhere else to be met with in the vast Rabbinic literature that it cannot be doubted that it is the name of one and the same person.

Having found, in this way, at least evidence, however faint, to identify T., it is to be regretted that for Ben La'ana even this support is missing. But I don't hesitate to claim for B.L. the same place in Jewish literature, as the two seem to be a sort of couple and cannot be separated; it must be assumed that the one source (Talmud Jerusalem) cites, as example, B.L., whereas the other (Midrash) prefers, also as example and for the same purpose, to allude to B.T. The view of one scholar<sup>1</sup> that the two are identical, I cannot share. As to the name T. itself, reference can be made to the view of the same scholar who proposes to read שלג = תלגא = snow, which by no means gives a plausible sense; if a light emendation might be allowed, I would read<sup>2</sup> חגלה, known as the name of a daughter of Zelophhad (Num. xxvi. 33, etc.), the meaning of which may be a bird (like Zipporah, the wife of Moses); it does not matter that this would be a feminine name, because this man, for some reason or other, was rather associated with his mother than with his father. The word לענה has certainly a feminine character; it denotes, as an appellative, "wormwood," cp. the phrase "gall and wormwood," a name which, perhaps, has been purposely deflected towards the unpleasant Greek writer. This mood of detraction would account also for the use of חגלה, a wild bird. But it is better not to touch the transmitted form תגלה "Tigla" or תלגה "Tilga"; it may be that the Rabbis derived it from the root גלה in Pi'el, to reveal something in the Torah which was not according to their heart.

<sup>1</sup> S. Klein in the Hebrew periodical לשוננו (= Our Language), I, 344. Cp., however, Hareubeni, *ib.* II, 46. Both scholars have for Ben Sira the explanation סירה = הקוק = thorn; long years ago (see *Jewish Quarterly Review*, XI, 1898, pp. 150-158, "Notes on Sirach") I tried to prove that the true meaning is אסירא, prisoner. My view has been duly registered in *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, by Schechter-Taylor, Cambridge, 1899, p. liii.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Sanhedrin-Makḥōt*, Giessen, 1933, p. 269.

But how does it happen that these authors are named in the same breath with Ben Sira? Shall this juxtaposition not rather imply that as with Ben Sira so also T. and L. are to be taken for ethical writers and not for translators? It may be supposed that for the aggadic author who is concerned with Eccl. xii. 12 the couple T. and L. are viewed only as ethical writers, after the fashion of Ben Sira, while to the author who comments upon *רקמה* in Ez. xvi. 10, they are known as Bible translators, and they figure by the side of Akylas. Naturally, the one would not exclude the other.

We cannot be certain why they or their work are condemned, as in the case of Ben Sira, whose work, we know, reflects a high moral standing. Regarding T. and L. we are perplexed once more. In their capacity, however, as Bible translators they had to endure the ostracisms of Rabbinic circles on all works of this kind. It is well known that in the Rabbinic schools of those days there was a bias under which every Bible translation was condemned. Even the Aramaic "Targum" of Jonathan ben Uzziel to the Prophets was no exception.<sup>1</sup> And what was said against the LXX is too well known to be repeated. Even such scientific work as Origenes' Hexapla found no mercy in the eyes of the severe Rabbis who never cite it, and it can be conjectured that they and their zeal are responsible for the work being now so mutilated. Even Akylas, the pious proselyte, must needs suffer disguise as "Onkelos" to be tolerated in the synagogue, and it has already been shown by us that in later times there existed a tendency to substitute for his name that of *א"ת*, i.e. a genuine Jewish author.

### *III. The Greek Glosses in Question—Genuine or Spurious?*

The preceding considerations do stand or fall, consequent on the Akylas glosses contained in Talmud and Midrash, to which are attached those of B.T. too, being held genuine or spurious. Since 'Azaria de Rossi,<sup>2</sup> who, four hundred years ago, first dealt

<sup>1</sup> See my article, "The Jews in the Works of the Church Fathers," *J.Q.R.*, V and VI (1892 and 1893), and "Church Fathers," in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, IV 80-86.

<sup>2</sup> In his *Me'or 'Ena'im*, ch. 45.



with the matter scientifically, nobody has doubted the genuineness of these glosses, and Jewish scholars duly collected them and transliterated them into proper Greek,<sup>1</sup> and the mere fact that their work resulted in good "biblical" Greek, has been regarded as a proof of the authenticity of these glosses. It was reserved for the hypercriticism of our time to deny and reject this philological work.

Pinkas Churgin (*Targum Jonathan to the Prophets*, New Haven, 1907) attempted this destructive task, to the benefit—of his hero, Jonathan. In order to do him full justice, in order, too, to enable the reader to judge for himself, I am quoting his opinion in his own words: "The quotation in Yerushalmi Shabbath 6, 4 from Akylas on Is. iii. 20 is not found in the Hexapla. The case of Ez. xvi. 10 (Lam. R. 1, 1) containing a double rendering, may even be a quotation from Jonathan. The LXX might as well be meant, which here, as also in Ex. xxvii. 16, agrees with Akylas, as recorded in the Hexapla, and also disagrees, just as Akylas, with its version in the Midrash. Similarly, the citation from Akylas on Gen. xvii. 1 in Gen. R. 46, 2; in this case also there is no telling which Greek translation was meant, for the LXX contains also such a rendering (comp. Field, *Hex. l.c.*). The ascription again, to Akylas, of citations from other sources was demonstrated above. This might have been the case with the quotations from Akylas on Dan. v. 5 (Y. Yoma 3, 8 Gemara) and Esth. R. 6. In the former, Akylas is preserved in the LXX only."

On the preceding page (12, n.) Churgin was already keen enough to write a final judgment: . . . "and all assumptions by De Rossi . . . and Krauss . . . in this case deserve little consideration".

The present writer is constrained to meet this bold attack by the following arguments: (1) A thing not found in the Hexapla

<sup>1</sup> In the valuable article *Bibelübersetzungen*, by Eb. Nestle, in *Realencyklopädie für protest. Theologie und Kirche* (I am using the reprint, Leipzig, 1897), the following two works are duly mentioned (p. 82): M. Friedmann, *Onkelos und Akylas*, Vienna, 1896—S. Krauss-Budapest (that was previous to my Vienna time), in the Jubilee Volume in honour of M. Steinschneider, Leipzig, 1896. Since all Greek glosses attributed to Akylas in Talmud and Midrash have found place in my *Lehnwörter*, as mentioned above.

does not cease to exist, as in Field's *Hexapla* there have been collected remnants in Greek<sup>1</sup> sources only, and later discoveries have augmented considerably the Hex. material as collected by Field (1867 ss.) (2) Soon in his next sentence Churgin is speaking of "double rendering," and this fact alone, that is the existence of double renderings, destroys his former argument. (3) Everything granted—how can Churgin ascribe Greek quotations to Jonathan, whose "Targum" is entirely Aramaic? (4) That LXX renderings coincide with those of Akylas, or *vice versa*, nobody will deny, and "coincidence" was plainly stated concerning the glosses dealt with above. We found also that Akylas, as indeed LXX and Origenes' Hex., have existed in a second edition. Slight differences only attest that there was already a fixed schematisation in rendering in Greek, a feature which easily could be demonstrated in the various English versions which are in public use to-day, and as a matter of fact also in the various renderings in other languages. (5) If the citation in Gen. R. 46, 2 is stated there to be from Akylas, as it is, how can Churgin say "there is no telling which Greek translation was meant"? (6) Churgin's next two arguments have been disposed of by what I said above: quite naturally Akylas sometimes *does* coincide with LXX.

<sup>1</sup> What was collected from the Syriac and other sources, see by Eb. Nestle, *l.c.*

## CONTEMPORARY POETRY AND DRAMA IN GREECE.<sup>1</sup>

By ALEXANDER A. MATSAS,

SECRETARY TO THE ROYAL HELLENIC MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

BEFORE approaching the subject of this study, which is contemporary poetry and theatre in Greece, it seems essential that I should tell you something about the instrument of these fine arts, that is, about the modern Greek language. I have been myself an undergraduate at Christ Church, Oxford, and I can think of no place in the world, Greece included, where the study of the classical languages, and of the classical monuments is more intelligent, more erudite and more profound ; but I have never ceased to wonder why the Greek of the ancient texts, whether Homer or Plato, Thucydides or Psellos the Byzantine, is called a dead language, and treated as a dead language. There is about the same difference between the language used by the Greek Press to-day and that of Xenophon, as there is between that of Xenophon and the Greek of Homer. The Koine (or common Greek of the Roman Era), used by the Apostles in the Gospels, is so near to us, in spite of nineteen centuries, that the most illiterate of the Greeks, at church, have no difficulty in understanding these holy texts. It would be difficult no doubt to say where and when ancient Greek ceased and modern Greek begins ; even more difficult to say where and when ancient Greek died and modern Greek came to life. Not only difficult, but impossible. Because Greek, whether ancient or modern, is one language, which has suffered the usual and inevitable alterations and evolutions of every living organism. With the difference that the organism of the Greek language has proved more tough and more enduring than that of other languages, including Latin. For Latin is a dead language in so far that no people to-day speak it, even under some altered or debased form. The modern languages which sprung from the

<sup>1</sup> A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 20th of May, 1942.



Latin Mother have distinct structures and are distinct organisms. French is not Latin, and Italian is not Latin. Whereas the Greek of to-day is always Greek in exactly the same way that the English of T. S. Eliot or Bernard Shaw is as English as that of Shakespeare or Chaucer.

The confusion has come from the mediæval tradition, when Greece was too distant and communications too difficult to afford investigation; it was enhanced by the adoption of the Erasmic pronunciation, and that is what makes an English scholar unable to make himself understood in Greece to-day. For the pronunciation invented in the sixteenth century by the Dutch scholar Erasmus, who had presumably never seen a Greek, was no doubt a work of ingenuity and merit; but it bears no relation with Greek, either modern or ancient, and is not agreeable phonetically.

I always thought this all the more surprising, when I considered the magnificent classical education of the English Public School. It would not only have been more accurate to introduce Greek as a living language, but it would also make it far more interesting for the boys. One should, of course, make distinctions between the various changes which the language has undergone. Pre-classical, classical, meta-classical, mediæval and modern could embrace roughly all these states in the evolution of the Greek language, while avoiding the term of dead language, which, in its grim finality, is both discouraging and inaccurate.

On this continuity of instrument is based the continuity of tradition. Greek tradition, by a curious paradox of the very terms, is and was always made of continuous progress and evolution. No people have been more curious of novelty than the ancient Greeks; none also, although deeply attached to their own values, have shown themselves more open to foreign influence. Throughout the ancient Greek literature, one finds that the fascination of the exotic and the foreign was always irresistible to those alert, flexible and youthful minds. This is a trait which the English, in spite of their supposed insularity, often present to an astonished world. A certain, intelligent type of Englishman abroad will seize the first opportunity for mixing in the life of the people, for wearing their costume, and for conforming to

their customs. The foreigner who wears, in Greece, the fustanella, in Arabia the roped head-dress, and in Russia the fur cap, is invariably an Englishman ; while remaining terribly English at heart. This kind of Englishman is generally not at all popular with the other British residents, who fail to see that he is as representative of the English as they are themselves. Just as Alcibiades, to the scandal of the conservative society of Athens, was heard to have taken to Persian robes, at the Court of the Great King.

I have now assembled the three elements of Greek literature to-day. Continuity of instrument, continuity of tradition and continuity of progress. Modern Greek poetry is made of these three elements. By continuity of progress, I mean a state of constant intellectual alertness and general receptivity to the currents of international artistic and intellectual movements and tendencies. This is very much promoted by the knowledge of foreign languages and literatures, which is to be found perfect amongst Greeks, especially of French, English and German. It has been an absolute rule for at least four generations for a Greek of the upper class to have a perfect command of French. In the last two generations this one language has been doubled by English, and in some cases German was added as a third language. The middle classes and even the lower middle classes have taken to this, and it is not uncommon to find French or English understood and read in very modest homes. In high and more cultivated society one should be prepared to converse, if foreigners are amongst the guests, in faultless French and English, and to discuss the latest book in those languages, whether by Gide, Claudel, Huxley, or Somerset Maugham, or any other fashionable author. Foreigners in an Athenian social party were more than often amongst the guests. I will say here with some pride that Greek is to my knowledge the only language which has only one and the same word to mean " foreigner " and " guest ". " Xenos " is the word, and it has not changed in both its form and its meaning since Homeric times. This is no coincidence ; the Greek vocabulary is profuse enough for this to be very deeply significant of the attitude of Greeks to foreigners. In the presence of foreigners it is considered very bad form to speak

Greek, unless the foreign guests know the language, which is extremely rare ; and in speaking French or English it would have been difficult for a Greek to survive, socially, certain faults in pronunciation, grammar, or general literary knowledge. These high standards of cultural snobbery and this etiquette of hospitality have served well the development of literature in modern Greece.

It is difficult to proceed to the arbitrary discussion of poets and of their work with a public which is not acquainted with these works. All I can do is to give an outline of the message of our principal living or contemporary poets.

I will begin with Costis Palamas, a very aged man to-day. His Muse has been extremely fertile and vigorous. His work is of the rich, profuse kind, magnificent in vocabulary and powerful in sound. He has treated all sorts of subjects with robust and enterprising ease. Epic verse, sonnets, odes, elegy, satire, lyrical pieces, patriotic chants, the seasons of man and the seasons of the earth. His position for many years has been that of an uncrowned poet laureate. It has been a fashion, amongst older people, to regard him as the living incarnation of the national Muse, and, by reaction to this, a fashion amongst younger people to look upon him as dull, conventional and shallow. I must confess that I have often thought so myself ; but now I see that there is much of the simplicity of Hesiod, and of the strength of the classics, in the clear and serene vision of the old bard.

Here are two of his shorter poems translated into English verse by the Greek poets Stephanides and Katsimbali :—

#### GREECE.

Fair Rumele a crown of ruby gold,  
Moreas is a gleam from emerald torn ;  
The Seven Isles a jasmine sevenfold,  
Each Cyclad is a Nereid sea-born.

Sore tried Epirus e'en doth, smiling, glow,  
And Thessaly spreads forth her golden hands ;  
Engulfed beneath her present tide of woe  
Methinks I look on Hellas, Queen of Lands.



For still of valour blooms the ancient tree,  
 And from the ages with their pangs and sighs  
 The breath of Digenes <sup>1</sup> yet doth arise

To breed a newer race of heroes free.  
 And on Colonus' Hill, 'neath midnight skies  
 The nightingale yet echoes harmony.

### THE PLANE TREE.

The ancient plane tree stood as sentinel  
 And o'er the temple cast its slumb'rous shade ;  
 Among its boughs a host of birds sang sweet,  
 About its trunk a host of children fleet  
 With laughter played.

Then came the monk, and to its strongest limb  
 He hung a heavy bell of bronzed sheen ;  
 And, willy-nilly, thus a renegade  
 Became the tree ; the Christian of it made  
 A belfry green.

But the Hellenic Gods and heroes dead,  
 Now banned and outlawed, ghosts and spirits pale,  
 Were moved to anger. Swift across the world  
 The lightning-crested thunder clouds they hurled  
 'Mid shrieking gale.

The plane tree reeled and to the startled earth  
 It, lifeless, crashed before the lightning's ire.  
 The birds and children wept it many a day ;  
 The heartless Christian lopped its boughs away  
 For winter fire.

A middle-aged man to-day is Angelo Sikelianos. Both his poetry and his personality have attracted and are still attracting the attention of the young people in Greece. He is the most interesting example of the permanence of the Greek genius, beyond and outside time. Sikelianos has had an extraordinary spiritual career. Married to an American wife of great talents and wealth, who worshipped him like a god, he has gradually

<sup>1</sup> *Digenes* is a hero of the Greek Empire of Byzantium.

come to believe that he was in direct communication with the spirit of Ancient Greece. A man of splendid features and presence, he has always successfully impressed this belief upon his entourage of admirers, which has always been numerous, devoted and changing. He lived away from towns in small and beautiful houses built on remote sites of ancient worship, like Delphi, Sikyon, or Eleusis. His contact with the literary public was aloof, condescending and unyielding. His verse is often obscure, and no doubt results from an interior vision unshared by other men. It is the language of the initiated, amongst which, in his own way, he believes himself to be one of the most advanced. You can well imagine from this that to many he is nothing but an old humbug ; to some a pontiff ; to others almost a god. I myself think he is a great poet, inspired and open to revelation. His latest works have progressed more and more on the way of the orphic doctrine. He also wrote an orphic drama called the *Orphic Rose* which was given in the ancient theatre of Dionysos, in Athens, before a rather bewildered and highly critical public, the Athenian public, well known for its quick-witted scepticism. I wasn't there myself, so I do not know what it was all about ; but it gave rise to much controversy, which is one of the things for which the Athenians live. I am sorry to say that I have no English translation of any of his works.

Constantine Cavafy is another outstanding figure in the contemporary poetry of Greece. He came from a cultured Greek family of Constantinople, and was educated in the ancient and conservative Greek schools of that town, in Egypt, and in England. He lived the greater part of his life in Alexandria, and came to Greece only as a visitor, and lastly to die there in an Athenian hospital. The Greek community of Alexandria is large, rich and important ; it gives to that city a peculiar air of Hellenism, mixed with Eastern and Judaic elements. Going to Cairo, the great Islamic and Khalific capital, from Alexandria is not only going from one town to another, but from one continent to another. The Alexandria of the Ptolemies must have been rather similar, in many of its less inspiring features, to modern Alexandria. In these surroundings Cavafy lived, and they have left a strong imprint on his work. His poetry is in

the best and purest sense of the word, decadent. I mean by that that it is sophisticated, artificial and cultured. His favourite subjects are anecdotic pieces about historical characters and events of the Hellenistic period, which he has studied, and, in a way assimilated, more profoundly than any living scholar. He sings of the least-known Ptolemies, of other post-Alexandrine Hellenic princes, of Cæsarion or of Berenice as if they were living to-day. Some of his epigrams might well have been written by a court poet of the Ptolemies. He is also decadent in so far that his inspiration is never direct, and never comes from nature. I can't think of any poem by Cavafy in which there is so much as a mention of a tree, of the sea, or of the sky. Another strong current in his art is an erotic inclination strongly permeated by the ethics, and the æsthetic values of meta-classical antiquity. The prevailing quality of his poetry is a peculiar, irresistible, inimitable charm. Cavafy is not a great poet, but a great minor poet. His influence, by action or reaction, is very strong and permanent on the youth of Greece.

I have been fortunate to find some extremely fine translations of Cavafy's poems by Professor John Mavrogordatos of Exeter College, Oxford, which the translator has kindly authorised me to reproduce here.

#### ITHACA.

When you have set out on the voyage to Ithaca,  
 You must pray that the way be long,  
 Full of adventures and experiences.  
 The Læstrygonians and the Kyklopes,  
 Angry Poseidon, don't be afraid of them,  
 You will never find such as these on the way,  
 If only your thoughts be high, and a chosen  
 Emotion touch your spirit and your body.  
 The Læstrygonians and the Kyklopes  
 And Poseidon raging, you will never meet them,  
 Unless you carry them with you in your soul,  
 Unless your own soul sets them up before you.

You must pray that the way be long.  
 Many be the summer mornings,  
 When with what pleasure, with what delight  
 You enter harbours never seen before ;



Stop at Phœnician trading-stations,  
 Acquire good merchandise,  
 Mother-of-pearl and corals, amber and ebony,  
 And sensuous perfumes of every kind,  
 As freely as you can get sensuous perfumes ;  
 You must go to many cities of Egypt  
 To learn and still to learn from those who know.

You must always have Ithaca in your mind.  
 To arrive there is your predestination.  
 But do not hurry the journey at all.  
 Better let it last many years ;  
 Quite an old man when you anchor at the island,  
 Rich with all that you have gained on the way,  
 Not expecting Ithaca to give you riches.  
 Ithaca has given you a lovely journey.  
 Without Ithaca you would never have set out.  
 Ithaca has no more to give you now.

If you find the island poor, it has not cheated you.  
 Wise as you have become, and all experienced now,  
 You will have understood the meaning of Ithaca.

#### VERY RARELY.

There is an old man ; bent up and exhausted,  
 Crippled by years and by his own excesses,  
 He passes up the alley, pacing slowly,  
 Yet when he goes into his house to hide there  
 His age and shabbiness, he meditates  
 The holding he still has in youthfulness.

Young men are repeating his verses even now,  
 His visions pass before their lively eyes.  
 Their healthy brains enjoying,  
 Their well-drawn, tight-skinned flesh,  
 Are moved even now by his revelations of beauty.

#### IONIC.

Because we have broken their statues,  
 Because we have turned them out of their temples,  
 They have not died for that, they are not dead at all.  
 O land of Ionia, the gods still love you,  
 They still remember you in their hearts.

When an August morning dawns over you  
 Through your atmosphere passes an ardour from that life of theirs ;  
 And sometimes an aery youthful form,  
 Indefinite, with swift transition,  
 Passes upon your hills.

#### THE TOMB OF IGNATIOS.

Here I am not that Kleon who was talked about  
 In Alexandria (where it is difficult to impress them)  
 For my splendid horses, and for my gardens,  
 For my horses and my carriages,  
 For the diamonds and the silks I used to wear.  
 Nay : here I am not that Kleon ;  
 Let his twenty-eight years be blotted out.  
 I am Ignatios, a lay-reader, who very late  
 Came to myself. But even so I lived ten happy months  
 In the tranquillity and in the safety of Christ.

#### SHADOWS COME.

One candle is enough.  
     The obscure light of it  
 Agrees better, will be  
     a more concordant light  
 When as the shadows come,  
     the shadows come of Love.

One candle is enough.  
     Let the room to-night  
 Not have a lot of light.  
     Now wholly in a dream  
 And only by supposing,  
     and with the little light—  
 So now within a dream  
     I'll entertain a vision,  
 And let the shadows come,  
     the shadows come of Love.

Of the younger poets, I shall have to mention George Seferis, who is a colleague of mine in the Greek Diplomatic Service, at present with our Legation in Cairo. His poetry is of great originality, concentration and depth. On a Mediterranean background of dazzling Ægean light, he seems to have met all the

enigmas of T. S. Eliot. Dazzling light can be as secretive, to the questioning eye, as an English fog. His poetry is, as it were, sealed and difficult, with fewer and fewer clues as he progresses further away on the path of his own metaphysics. I myself admire it very much. It leaves all questions, quite rightly I think, unanswered.

Here is a translation in English of a poem by Seferis. The translators are G. C. Katsimbalis and L. Durrell.

### MYTH OF OUR HISTORY.

#### I.

"The Soul too,  
If she would know herself  
Must look within a soul."  
The stranger, the enemy, we saw him in the glass.

Good lads were the companions—did not growl,  
Either at toil or at thirst or at the frosts,  
They bore themselves like the trees and waves,  
Accepting wind and rain,  
Accepting night and sun,  
With the change, not changing.  
Good lads they were, whole days  
They sweated at the oar with downcast eyes.  
Breathing rhythmically,  
And their blood reddened submissive skin.  
Sometimes they sang, with downcast eyes,  
As we passed the island with the Barbary figs  
To the west, beyond the cape of dogs  
Who bark.  
If she would know herself, they said,  
Into a soul she must look, they said,  
And the oars beat the gold of the sea  
In the setting sun.  
Many capes we passed, many islands, the sea  
Which leads to the other sea ; gulls and seals.  
Sometimes luckless women who wept,  
Keening for children they had lost ;  
And others raving called for Alexander  
And glories buried in the depths of Asia.  
We have moored on beaches full of the night scents,  
With songs of birds, waters which left on the hands  
Remembrance of great happiness.



But the journeys had no end.  
 Their souls became one with the oars and rowlocks,  
 With the grave face of the prow,  
 With the trace of the rudder,  
 With the water which fractured their image.  
 The companions finished, each in turn,  
 With downcast eyes. Their oars  
 Mark the place where they sleep on the shore.  
 No one remembers them. Justice.

## II.

Westward the ocean melts in the range of mountains.  
 To our own left the Sound wind maddens,  
 A wind making naked the bone from the flesh.  
 Our house among pines and carobs.  
 Big windows. Big tables  
 For us to write the letters we have been writing to you  
 These many months, which we drop  
 Into the separating void to fill it.

" Daystar, when you lower your eyes  
 Our hours were made sweeter than oil  
 In wounds, more joyful than water  
 On the palate, more peaceful than the cygnet's down.  
 Our life lay in your hands.  
 After the bitter bread of exile  
 If we remain nightly before the white wall  
 Your voice enters like a fiery hope  
 And once again the wind strops  
 Upon the nerve a razor.

" We write to you each of us the same things  
 And each remains silent to the other,  
 Looking each of us separately at the same world,  
 The light and the darkness on the mountain,  
 On you.

" Who will lift this sorrow off our hearts ?  
 Yesterday evening, tempest, and to-day  
 Against the weight of the dark sky. Our thoughts  
 Like the pine needles of yesterday's rain  
 At the door of the house, heaped up and spent,  
 Try to build us a collapsing mansion.

"Among the decimated villages,  
On this cape, naked to the south wind,  
With the mountain before us, hiding you.  
O who will measure this decision of forgetfulness?  
Who will accept offerings at the end  
Of this Autumn?"

## III.

Our native place is enclosed, all mountains,  
Whose roof is the low sky day and night.  
We have no rivers, we have no wells, we have no  
Spring. Only a few cisterns, ringing hollow,  
Which we adore.

A sound standing hollow, identical with  
Our loneliness, identical with our love, our bodies.

Strange we were once able to build  
Our houses, huts, byres, and our marriages,  
The dewey coronel and the marriage fingers  
Have become enigmatic, insoluble to the soul.  
How were they born, our children, how grew up?

Our native place is shut in. They enclosed it  
The two black Symplegades. When we go down  
On Sunday to the harbours for a breath of air,  
We see, lit by the sunsets,  
The shattered wrecks of voyages unfinished,  
Bodies no longer knowing the art of love.

## IV.

Sleep, like the green leaves of a tree, wrapped you round  
Like a tree you breathed in the calm light,  
In the lucent source I discovered your form:  
Eyelids shut, eyelashes brushing the water.  
My fingers in the smooth grass found your fingers,  
For an instant lay on the pulse,  
Sensible of the heart's pain in another place.

Under the plane, near water, amongst laurel  
Sleep removed you and made fragments of you  
Around me, near me, never touching the whole,  
Joined to your silence:

Seeing grown larger or smaller your shadow  
 Among the others losing itself in the other  
 World which grasped and released.

The life which was given us to live, we lived it.  
 Pity those who attend such patience,  
 Lost in the black laurel, under the heavy planes,  
 And those whose solitude speaks to cisterns and wells,  
 Who drown among the voice's circles.  
 Pity the companions who shared our loss and our sweat,  
 Who, like the crow flying beyond the ruins,  
 Were swallowed in the sun, hopeless of enjoying the reward.

Now give us, the other side of sleep, tranquillity.

#### V.

Here terminate the works of the sea, the works of love,  
 Those who exist here some day where we end,  
 If the blood should overflow to darken memory,  
 May they not forget us, the weak ones among the asphodels.  
 May they turn upon the mysterious darkness  
 The heads of the victims.  
 We who owned nothing shall teach them peace.

Surrealism has also made many adepts amongst the most advanced and revolutionary artists. Odysseas Elytis, with whom I was at school, has been regarded as the most talented of these. According to experts in that cryptic and bewildering form of art, he is very good. I always disagreed with him, *a priori*, as my opinion is that art is primarily a conscious order, and Surrealism is, by definition, the negation of both consciousness and order.

Before I end my review of modern Greek poets, I feel I must mention Cazantaakis, who published, two years ago, a long-expected work, at which he had been working for fifteen years. It is called the *Odyssey* and is composed of 33,000 hexameters. It is all original work which bears no relation with the *Odyssey* of Homer. The very size of the volume is awe-inspiring and discouraging. There has been much controversy about it amongst those critics who have had the patience and industry to read it through. I mention it here as an important monument



of modern Greek literature and as proof of the health and vigour of the Greek Muse. Such ponderous works are only produced in periods of artistic health.

Of the poets I have mentioned before, the three first, Palamas, Sikelianos and Cavafy, have all strongly influenced, by action or reaction, the younger generation in Greece. Greece is a country where poetry is much written, and read to a good extent. The volumes of verse, published in Athens every year amounted to many hundreds. Most of these were privately printed, and sold almost at cost price. Nobody, rich or poor, known or obscure, has ever tried to make money out of poetry. Cavafy never published his poems, but had them printed on separate sheets of paper as they were composed. These sheets of paper were pinned together into thin sheaves and given by him personally to his friends. There was a time when no more than ten such copies existed in Athens. It took me three months of correspondence and two letters of recommendation about the sincerity of my artistic interest to obtain one myself; and even then it had no autograph signature of the author on it. Cavafy added it only some years after, when we met and became friends; he was then a dying man.

This pride of the Greek artists has given to them an independence of expression and of development which is unequalled in countries where the diffusion of literature is more commercially organised. In Greece the artist never descends to the public, as it is none of his business; if the public wishes to come up to him they can do so, at the cost of their own effort.

What has been written in Greece since this war I do not know, but here is a translation of a small piece written this winter by a young Greek poet at present in England. It describes an episode of the evacuation of Greece last spring:

#### MARATHON, 1941.

'Tis not a cicada that hit the pine-tree,  
Nor a gold scarab drunk with figs;  
It whistled like a wasp; on the wound of the trunk  
The sun now touches a drop  
Glittering, like honey.

The other bullet struck a breast.  
The young soldier asleep, hiding  
Under the shrubs, waiting for night.  
The sand drank glance and voice,  
Words and works, nights and days,  
Strength, love. The eyes did not open  
Turned as they were on interior journeys.

It is not yet the time of the poppy,  
And all this scarlet on shrubs and sand  
Seems odd.

The breath of the sea stroked the pine-tree  
And the hair of the sleeper. The cicadas  
Did not cease their apollonian hymn  
Until the end of the day, When they became silent,  
Then subsided the murderous roar  
Of the Medic aeroplanes.

With regard to the contemporary theatre in Greece, one notices there the same phenomenon which has prevailed in this century throughout the cultural centres of the world ; that is, that the art of the playwright is comparatively poor and uncreative, whereas the art of producing plays is at it highest. And again, there, in the art of producing plays, the achievements of this century are far greater with regard to the general setting and presentation of the plays, than as far as acting is concerned. Garrick, Talma, Sarah Bernhardt and the Duse have no equals on European stages to-day ; but the setting in which they acted would have been turned down by our fifth-rate provincial actors. In Greece we had some playwrights who produced every year a number of comedies, musical comedies, revues and plays, few of which were above the average. All these plays, like all modern theatrical productions, were calculated to entertain and only to entertain. The real mission of the theatre was performed, in Greece as it is here, by the production of classical plays. The Royal Theatre, a foundation of King George the First, which was sadly neglected, and finally closed down in the troublesome years which followed the first World War, has been recently renovated, equipped with all modern machinery and devices, like revolving stages, etc., and restored to its position of supreme

stage of the State, organised more or less on the lines of the Comédie Française. It also has a school of Dramatic Art, and a school of Ballet. The actors of the Royal Theatre are civil servants, and have all the duties, privileges and advantages of the civil servants. The repertoire is chosen by a Board of Directors, appointed by the State, all men of literary and professional eminence. The principal actors sit amongst them. The repertoire is classical, and contains not only all the Greek classics but also the French classics; Ibsen, and Shakespeare, the latter being enormously popular with the Athenian public, and, in general, the Greek public, including the less educated classes. I had to wait for weeks to find a seat for the performance of *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, and *Julius Cæsar*. These seats were very cheap, as the theatre was supported entirely by the State. The best stalls cost two shillings and the cheaper seats sixpence. The most impecunious student could go there easily. The Royal Theatre also gave a certain number of comedies and plays of a less classical character, like comedies by Wilde, or Shaw, or comedies by English, French, German, Scandinavian, Russian and Greek playwrights of the last century, or of the last decades. There were some attempts, strongly opposed by the most conservative Directors, to produce the *Machine Infernale*, by Jean Cocteau, and the *Electra* of Giraudoux. The acting was excellent. The scenery, staging and costumes supremely fine. The performance of the *Electra* of Euripides, of the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus, of *Peer Gynt* and *The Ghosts* by Ibsen, *Julius Cæsar* and *Macbeth*, are the finest that I have seen. Minottis, the principal male actor, was much appreciated by the English public and critics in his performance of *Hamlet* and in Greek at His Majesty's Theatre in London in 1938. Madame Paxinou, the first lady, had similar success in the female parts of these plays here, and in her splendid performance of *Electra*. In the spring and summer the Royal Theatre used to give classical Greek plays in the ancient Theatre of Herodes Atticus, at the foot of the Acropolis. All traffic was stopped in the neighbouring avenues and boulevards. The Athenian night was pure and softly warm; and the ancient marbles echoed again to the verses of Sophocles, while the nightingales sang in the park of The Nymphs.



There was also another important theatre, built around the great personality of Madame Marika Cotopouli. Cotopouli is an ageing woman to-day ; but the influence of her theatrical genius has been paramount on Greek stage life for the last forty years. Too independent to become part of a State organisation, she had the State coming to her, in the form of a subsidy which was to cover all eventual financial losses of her theatrical enterprise. She had an extremely fine modern theatre built for her, called after her name, and she was at liberty to choose her plays and do as she liked. Thus all the plays that were too modern or too experimental to be accepted by the Royal Theatre, or new and somewhat revolutionary interpretations or settings of classical plays, could be tried there ; that is, if Madame Cotopouli wanted it. A truly great actress, she excels in all the forms of her art. Her performances of *Lady Macbeth*, *Hecuba* of Euripides, *The Twelfth Night*, *As You Like It*, *Mourning becomes Electra*, by O'Neill, were superb. She often appeared in ancient theatres during the summer. The public thought it a pity that the greatest of our artists should not be in the company of the Royal Theatre, but perhaps it was better so, because the genius of Cotopouli remained free from Committees and Directors, and, the younger actors who had the privilege to be admitted in her turbulently ruled and frequently and whimsically re-shuffled company, could be formed by her.

The settings and scenery at Cotopouli's were very fine, and often very revolutionary. I will also add, in protest against the high prices of seats in English theatres, that the best stalls at Cotopouli's Theatre cost half a crown, and the cheapest sixpence. Her theatre was air-conditioned, elegantly decorated and had two revolving stages. This cheapness of the seats, combined with the high quality of both the artistic and the technical sides of the performances, were intentionally calculated to serve the educational policy of the State in its endeavour to counteract the influence of cinemas and inferior entertainment.

There were two or three more independent companies of young actors with literary ambitions in Athens ; and a good many companies for revues, shows and entertainments, none of which were very good.

All these companies, including the Royal Theatre, used to tour the Provinces in the summer. The Royal Theatre at Corfu and the Royal Theatres in Salonica, Patras, Hermoupolis, were good buildings and were being made up to date. In other towns the performances were given in more or less improvised places. In the later years the Directorship of the Royal Theatre had arranged for regular travelling companies to tour the Provinces. They were called the Chariots of Thespis, after the name of the legendary ancient Greek actor, and were travelling all over Greece in huge motor-waggon—specially built in such a way that they could form a portable stage, which could be set up on the market place of the smallest village. These companies had a repertoire of mostly Greek classics and Shakespeare. *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *The Taming of the Shrew* were great favourites in the Provinces. As third State Theatre, there was the Royal Opera, founded by Royal Decree four years ago. It was still housed in the same building with the Royal Theatre, and gave some very good performances. *Die Fledermaus*, by Johann Strauss, was a great success three years ago. It was soon to have a special theatre of its own, built according to the most modern models of operas.

Another important feature of the contemporary theatrical art in Greece, and to my knowledge quite unique, was the production of classical plays, attempted by the poet Angelo Sikelianos and his American wife Eva Sikelianos, in Delphi in 1927 and 1930.

Sikelianos had a vast and far-reaching scheme. He wanted to revive the Delphic ideal, in its character of international centre of ethics and æsthetics, on the very site of the ancient Delphic shrine, and under the transcendental patronage of Apollo, the Sun-God and God of Music. The Vicar of Apollo on earth, and first pontiff of the Apollonian cult, was evidently to be Sikelianos himself. This ambitious plan engulfed nearly all the fortune of Madame Sikelianos ; but it also gave to the Greek and International public who gathered in Delphi the most inspiring of artistic joys. The Delphic festivals took place on two occasions, in 1927 and in 1930. In 1927, one sacred play was given at the ancient theatre, *Prometheus Bound* of Æschylus ; and athletic

games and sacred dances in the Stadium on the next day. In 1930 the festival lasted three days. On the first day they gave *Prometheus Bound* of Æschylus ; on the second, *The Suppliants* ; on the third, sacred dances, and athletic and hippic games, reminiscent of the frieze of the Parthenon. From the theatrical point of view it was unparalleled in beauty and interest. The actors wore masks and buskins, which the ancients used to wear on the stage. These accessories, inseparable from the ancient theatre, are extremely effective. By robbing the actor of all ordinary human appearance, by enhancing the stature of the performers and by endowing them with a rigid and awe-inspiring face, they give to them a superhuman or extra human presence which suggests divinity. All the costumes had been personally designed, spun and woven by Madame Sikelianos, in thick natural rough silk, which drapes as splendidly as if sculpted in marble. I remember the costumes of the chorus of Oceanides, the daughters of the Sea, in *Prometheus Bound*. The colouring—all in natural dyes—of these costumes, graduated in such a way from deep purple to aquamarine, passing through all the shades of blues and greens, so that each group of maidens, rhythmically chanting and dancing, seemed like one rich sea-wave, ending in the foam of the palely clad coryphee. Madame Sikelianos, an expert on Byzantine and folk-lore music, had instructed and trained the choruses herself. These magnificent performances, conducted in the grandiose setting of the Delphic Sanctuary, with, as a background to the antique theatre, built high up on the mountains, the immense horizon of the Pythian valley, with the sea glittering in the distance like a shield, have been the greatest artistic emotions of my life. It was also great fun. Sikelianos moved like a prince amongst the crowds, declaimed a new ode in the theatre, and was cheered. Miss Diplarakou, who later became Madame Alice Weiller, the Miss Europe of 1930, appeared in a lovely ancient tunic in the theatre, and aroused such admiration that the performance was nearly interrupted. Athletes preparing for the games of the sacred dances walked about the streets of the village in light tunics ; Athenian debutantes paraded in beautiful country costumes ; and the villagers, and the somewhat bewildered shepherds of



Parnassus mixed gaily with the visitors and exchanged drinks with them.

I have tried to conjure in this short hour as full a picture as I could of the happy artistic life of a happy, peace-loving and free nation. The young poets, the young actors, their friends, their spectators and their readers, have heard once more the voice of Greece calling them to the struggle for all. “*Νῦν ὑπέρ πάντων ἀγών.*” Many have fallen in Albania or Epirus, on the Pindus or in Macedonia. Many in Thermopylæ, on the shores of Marathon, or on the shores and mountains of Crete. Those who returned have found their homes and their altars defiled by the barbarians ; and sitting now on the mournful hearths, another enemy, the strongest partner of the Axis, Famine. Once more the laurels of Greece and the laurels of Apollo have been stained with a noble blood. But one day the dark tide of barbarism will subside ; Greece and her Muses will rise again ; and I feel sure that the voice of poetry will ring more strong, more full and more beautiful than ever, after these tragic and exalting years, just as Athens blossomed forth in full flower in the years after Marathon.

## GREECE'S RÔLE AS A BALKAN AND MEDITERRANEAN POWER.<sup>1</sup>

By A. MICHALOPOULOS, C.B.E., F.R.S.A., M.A. (OXON.),  
GREEK MINISTER OF INFORMATION.

**D**URING the last two days it has been my privilege to address three meetings in Manchester, one of which was to the workers in a vast factory turning out implements of war, and I have been more than ever impressed by the strenuous effort which is being made by all the citizens of this great industrial centre towards winning the war and putting an end to the disgraceful Nazi regime at present spreading the barbaric tyranny of its domination over the whole Continent of Europe. It is the business of all of us at the present moment to concentrate all our energies upon winning the war, but that does not preclude the right, and indeed the obligation, which thinking people have of discussing the future of the world after the victory has been won, and I feel that as I am here among friends I should like to be allowed to speak a little more intimately on the questions which concern the future of my country and her policy as a member of the family of civilized nations. But before doing so I should like to say to you, my Lord Bishop (of Manchester), that I am greatly honoured by your courtesy in taking the Chair to-day, and that I have been very deeply moved by the stirring words in commendation of my country's effort and sacrifice, with which you have just introduced me, and I also feel that it is my duty—and a very pleasant duty—to extend the warmest thanks of the Greek Government to Dr. Guppy for his great kindness in arranging the course of lectures in honour of Greece, of which this is the first.

I have been struck by one thing since I returned to England last autumn, and that is that the thinking people of this country have begun in good time to turn their attention seriously to the

<sup>1</sup> An address delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 6th of May, 1942.

problems of the peace. Everywhere individuals, societies and groups such as your own, are discussing post-war problems. Many of the discussions may be premature. The evolution of the war may be such that conclusions which seem reasonable to-day may turn out to be inapplicable to-morrow. But the essential thing is that the conscience of the civilized world is alive to the necessity of ensuring a lasting peace, and if this spirit had prevailed in the earlier phases of the last war, perhaps the peace would have been drawn up with more foresight and deliberation, and the horrors of the present war thus avoided.

I shall discuss later the part that the nations of Europe, the nations of South-Eastern Europe—and particularly Greece—are destined to play in the re-making of a new world. But in order to lead up to this subject I should like to put before you a few considerations by means of which I hope to make more clear the significance of Greece's contribution to the war of the civilized nations against Hitler's neo-barbarism.

There are in the history of every people critical moments when their national character is put to the proof, and the manner in which they react determines the future course of their destiny. As with individuals so with nations—it is not merely the strength of their physique which constitutes their potential might. The doctrine of force for the sake of conquest alone is a very ancient one, and again and again it comes to the surface throughout the ages, but it is a doctrine as fallacious as the principle which prompts the burglar to break into a house on the assumption that his tools and his weapons will overcome the inmates and that his skill will prevail over the arm of the law.

The nations of the world, whether they like it or not, do form a society. In the present lamentable condition of the world's affairs it is indeed difficult to believe that it is an organized society, and the selfishness which has inspired individual nations in peace time has made the task of organizing, even among the free and peace-loving nations of the world, extremely difficult. But in spite of this sad truth it remains a fact that flagrant violation of the laws of common decency and humanity by Powers whose only morality is based on force, brings upon them sure retribution at the cost of great suffering to all.



Conversely it is true that nations with a strict sense of international morality and national integrity derive from these virtues a permanent strength so great that in spite of temporary adversities or even disasters they in the end reap the merited reward.

This is no mere theory ; it is an historic fact. For throughout the ages the war between the powers of light and the powers of darkness—between the spirit and brute force—is waged relentlessly, and the progress of civilization is the result of the gradual prevalence of moral values over purely material strength. If in the present conflict the nations that are fighting under the banner of freedom and democracy are really convinced of the worthiness of their cause as such, and if the nations friendly to them are also convinced that this cause is worthy of an equal sacrifice on their part when they are called upon to defend it, then there can be no possible doubt of the issue.

If, on the other hand, the significance of this war were to be obscured in the minds of the democratic peoples by material considerations, and the titanic struggle which is now spreading the disastrous tide of battle over the whole world were to come to be accepted with complacency by these so-called freedom-loving nations, that would mean that the spirit of democracy and freedom has been broken, and that Hitler's claim to have instilled a new spirit of youth into the world would be in part at least validated.

The greatest enemies of Western civilization to-day are not the formidable German armies but a fatalistic tendency among the democratic peoples to take the war as an inevitable evil and to fight it as such with a belief in the eventual triumph of what they rightly consider to be a just cause, but often without that ardent, positive and creative faith that removes mountains.

I have seen to-day in the earnestness with which the working people in the factories of Manchester are applying themselves to the heavy tasks of making guns and war material, a proof that the spirit of the British people is still what it always was and that the positive and creative faith of which I have spoken ever exists in this country, and indeed it was alive in the stirring words with which the foreman of the workers received me as a representative

of Greece, and in the enthusiastic acclamations of over six thousand men.

The real significance of Greece's contribution to this war is that she has proved to the world that she has this passionate faith, and that in the soul of the whole Greek people the love of freedom burns with a fire which no material force, which no sufferings, however intense, can put out.

It is not suggested that Greece's material contribution to the war should be minimized. Her victorious campaign for over six months against the Italians in Albania was a very serious setback for the Axis Powers. Had the enemy penetrated through the Pindus range in November of last year and succeeded in occupying Greece then, a base would have been provided for an Italo-German attack on Egypt at a time when the Allied forces were by no means prepared to receive it and a major disaster would have probably ensued. Germany would also then have been free to attack Russia in the early summer of this year as was her plan, and Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Iran would almost certainly, and in some cases perhaps willingly, have fallen into the clutches of Nazi domination. As a result, India and Africa would have come under the shadow of a direct German menace.

These crises were averted not only by Greece's resistance to Italy but also by her stubborn and determined fight against the Germans' overwhelming weight for seven more weeks; and to-day the situation in the Middle East—in Egypt, Abyssinia, Iran, Iraq and Syria is completely different, and Turkey, whose fate hung in the balance, feels the weight of the support of a strong counterpoise from the south to the German threat upon her northern borders.

By delaying the launching of Hitler's attack upon Russia for several weeks the Greek resistance on the mainland and in Crete, contributed in no uncertain measure to the disasters which Germany is now suffering at the hands of the Russians. But this material contribution, I maintain, was not the principal or the main vital contribution of my country to the cause of Great Britain and her Allies.

Her major contribution was her demonstration of faith and fortitude in the face of inevitable disaster. Even if she had not had

the fate of so many more powerful nations in Europe before her eyes at the time of the brutal violation of her peaceful neutrality, it would hardly have been reasonable to suppose that she could have defeated Italy, a Power more than six times her size, nor was the effective defence of Greece against invasion by the Germans ever believed by anyone in the country to be a possibility, with the Balkan States so lamentably disunited—with a treacherous Bulgaria lusting after easy gain, with Yugoslavia in the throes of internal disruption, with a friendly Turkey unable, owing to her geographical and political situation, to implement her friendship by active participation at that critical moment.

It was known that Great Britain would make an honourable effort to help Greece but that the available forces were insufficient, and, moreover, Greece did have before her tragic examples in the fate of Czechoslovakia, Poland, France, Belgium, Denmark, Norway—in fact of the greater part of Europe subjected to the spreading might of unrelenting German domination. And yet not for one moment did the Greeks hesitate because, in the words of Herodotus, referring to a similar situation which occurred twenty-five centuries ago :

“ It was not possible for them to accept terms that would bring slavery to Greece.”

And so the nation fought: the whole nation—the armed forces on land, on sea and in the air, and behind the armies the women, the children and the older men exerted every sinew in this unprecedented struggle against a force that could never be overcome by their slender resources but has been in effect vanquished by their indomitable spirit.

In estimating Greece's moral contribution at its proper value, I should like you to consider also that a great part of her material interests militated in favour of her coming to an amicable agreement with the Axis Powers. Owing to a negligence which it is hard to understand and which was certainly not due to Greek causes, trade between Great Britain and Greece, between 1925 and 1938, dwindled to almost one-third of its original volume. German agents, middle men and commercial travellers, swarmed in all the countries of South-East Europe. The firms they



represented had the full support of the German Government. Greek produce—tobacco in vast quantities, minerals, currants, fruit—were all bought up by Germany. The financing of these vast transactions was carried out by means of clearing arrangements, the result of which was that Greece, in order to further this valuable export trade, was obliged to order from Germany her industrial plant, machinery, chemical products, and many other goods which she would normally have bought from England or America. When business connections on so vast a scale are established between two countries, other ties, both cultural and political, eventually follow. I need not remind you that the British Empire was built up in the wake of private trading companies.

Now Greece, in defence of her liberty and in support of the moral principles which she considered honourable and right, was not influenced by the very important material considerations which I have just outlined.

Looking to the future in this connection, I should like to stress the vital importance for Great Britain, that her general lines of foreign policy, particularly in the Eastern Mediterranean, should be co-ordinated with some sort of controlled trade policy, if your country is to retain her imperial prestige and the friendship of many small nations who in the past seem to have had to struggle against superhuman odds and against millions of miles of red tape in order to be allowed to offer it.

Now I will pass to the wider theme of a durable peace settlement. Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt, I think, rendered a signal service to humanity when at a timely moment they signed the historic Atlantic Charter and laid the broad foundation of eventual international agreement.

After the savage din of war has subsided and exhausted humanity has laid down its arms, there is no doubt that all the nations of the world, without exception, will be eager for real peace and concord. But at that moment we must guard against being overcome by indifference, which may well arise from a latent conviction in the minds of those who will negotiate the peace, that in their life-time at least it will not be possible for the nations to fight again. This kind of indifference is most insidious for it

might well lead to careless patchwork, whereas what the world needs is as much courage and determination in building up the world's fabric as has been shown in preventing its total destruction by Nazi tyranny.

To my mind the principal crime which Hitler has committed is that by his nefarious system he has built up against the people of Germany and her associates such a wall of hatred amongst the nations who have temporarily become their victims, that to expect universal goodwill to follow the signature of peace would be an excursion into a Utopia of the most dangerous nature. And for this reason I consider that the German dictator has wantonly destroyed something very precious, and indeed sacred, in the relations of man with man and of nation with nation.

What are you going to do with Germany after the war? We have all of us turned this question over in our minds again and again no doubt, and when you give me an answer to it, I will give you the answer to the question—What are we going to do with Bulgaria?

For her savage hordes have come down into the northern provinces of Greece on the heels of their German masters and have assisted them most efficiently in establishing the New Order in Thrace and Eastern Macedonia. Seventy thousand Greeks have been driven out of their towns, villages and farms and sent to starve with the rest of Greece which is enjoying the benefits of Nazi rule in the south. Between ten and fifteen thousand Greeks have been massacred in the most ruthless manner by the Bulgars, for whom so much sympathy has been felt in some circles in this country that your Government hesitated to declare war on them and, in fact, did not do so when war was declared on Finland, Hungary and Roumania. The honour of this initiative was left to Bulgaria.

However much the men who will be at the head of Greece's destinies when peace comes may realize the necessity for coming to an amicable and sincere understanding with her neighbours and former enemies, you must realize that it is going to be extremely difficult to heal the gaping wounds which brutal savagery on such a scale has opened.

I think, however, that you may count on Greece taking the

initiative in a bona-fide attempt to arrive at a working arrangement in South-Eastern Europe. Her past record is a guarantee of this. And at a time when the great nations in the world were at sixes and sevens Greece, through the foresight of her great statesman Eleutherios Venizelos patched up her age-long quarrel with Turkey and came to an agreement with her, which has not only proved permanent but has been one of the stabilizing factors in that formerly explosive corner of the Mediterranean. It was Greece, too, that took the lead in promoting the Balkan Entente, which did everything in its power to include Bulgaria within its folds. It failed to do so because, as her Prime Minister, Monsieur Filov, has stated in his speech to the National Assembly, delivered on November 19, 1941—"Bulgaria is a small nation, but even so her action has without doubt wrecked the much-discussed plan of a Balkan bloc. It was because of Bulgaria's firm attitude that this bloc never materialized, and thus a scheme contrary to German interests was foiled."

After this war the teeth of the aggressor powers must be drawn. There is no doubt about that. When they have been drawn satisfactorily and a certain time has been given to the victims of aggression to recover from their injury, a *modus vivendi*, which will look to the future and to the promotion of lasting peace, must be found. Of that we are fully conscious.

Quite what form this *modus vivendi* will take it is impossible to forecast in any detail at the present moment. Many susceptibilities, both internal and external, in the various nations concerned, will have to be handled delicately, and it is hoped that the statesmen who will be responsible for this task will be equal to their mission in the broadest sense.

However, Greece and Jugoslavia have already taken one step forward which is of considerable importance, by signing the Greco-Jugoslav Agreement for a Balkan Union, in London on January 15, 1942. The significance of this Agreement is that Greece and Jugoslavia, friends and allies in the cause of liberty, democracy and civilization, are fully alive to their responsibilities, as pioneers in the Balkan Peninsula, to the need of post-war Europe for a lasting peace.

The Agreement marks a very great advance upon all previous



instruments of a similar nature in that both its scope and its appeal to mutual confidence and solidarity are much wider. The clause inviting the eventual adherence of other Balkan States demonstrates the constructive intentions of the signatories.

Here are the main lines of the Agreement : It provides for the closest political, military and economic collaboration between Greece and Jugoslavia, collaboration which goes far beyond the limits of any previous Balkan Entente. Its aim is to ensure the independence and peace of the Balkan States by affirming the principle of the Balkans for the Balkan peoples. The signatories declare that they would welcome the future adhesion to the Agreement of other Balkan States ruled by Governments freely and legally constituted, and set up permanent machinery for the constant collaboration of the statesmen, general staffs, economists, experts and parliaments of the member States. The Union is to act in a uniform manner on the international plane, to settle all disputes by arbitration, to co-ordinate commercial activities and to defend the European frontiers of the States of the Union.

Thus by the signature of the Agreement, Greece stabilises her position as a Balkan Power without jeopardizing her position as a Mediterranean.

It must not, however, be forgotten when we discuss Balkan problems, and indeed European problems, that the position of Russia after the war will have to be given far greater consideration than many are willing to suppose. Russia is not a small ally whose courage and whose services can be praised in glowing terms, and whose hopes and aspirations can be put on a shelf and locked within a cupboard whose key, if convenient, may be lost. Russia is a great Power with a definite policy, and she is governed to-day by statesmen whose philosophy is based on precision and realism. Russia's claims to a very big share in the control of the world's destinies at the end of the war are certainly not going to be locked up in any cupboard. And she will have her say in matters concerning the affairs of South-Eastern Europe, where she has always exercised considerable influence over her spiritual satellites, the Slav States. Possibly Russia may find the solution to the Bulgarian problem. She may manage to keep those

truculent tartars in order. She will certainly develop her affinities with the Jugoslavs.

From the Greek point of view I personally do not share the opinion that Russian influence across the northern boundaries of Greece will be a menace. It could not be a greater menace than that of the Central Powers during the last hundred years. It must not be forgotten that Russia has undergone a radical transformation since the bloody days of the Bolshevik revolution in 1918. Much theory has receded with bloodshed, and she is grappling with her problems in a practical way. From her revolution, which was a necessary one, she is emerging with the same strength as France emerged from the revolution of 1789, and though the spirit of the new Russia may not be pleasing to some of our die-hards who would like to go on living on the—alas ! no longer existent fat of the land, it seems to be developing definitely on lines of progress coupled with strength. And so in the Councils of the peace John Bull and Uncle Sam will have to listen to quite a number of home truths from Uncle Joe, and they will probably have to lump them.

As regards Greece, I feel that our problem is two-fold : we have to establish a firm foundation of amity and understanding with our Slav neighbours on the north, who will come under Russian influence, in order to be able to develop as a Mediterranean nation, whose chief source of prosperity is on the sea ; in this latter sphere we shall always come under British influence, and for this we should be thankful.

I do feel most strongly that the maintenance of the very close relationship between Great Britain and Greece which at present exists, should be solidly maintained. To us, a maritime power, it would obviously be invaluable, but to Great Britain also it would offer very definite advantages. I think the present war has demonstrated the truth of the French proverb : “ *On a souvent besoin d'un plus petit que soi,* ” and Greece can afford not only strategic advantages to her powerful ally, but holds the keys to the important air trade routes to Africa, India and the Far East.

I have thrown out all these random thoughts very tentatively ; I do not claim for them that they are even mature. They are,

rather, food for thought, and this, I believe, is what we have come to seek here.

As regards Greece's more individual aspirations, I may say that she is not seeking territorial expansion. She merely desires such adjustments to be made as will ensure that the whole Greece people will be included within her frontiers without prejudice to other peoples, and that their security will be guaranteed as far as possible against a repetition of the aggression of which she has been the innocent victim. If this principle is followed—it is a principle laid down by the Atlantic Charter—Northern Epirus with its Greek population and the towns of Argyrocastro and Korytsa will revert to Greece, whose right to this province was acknowledged by international instruments at the end of the last war. The Dodecanese will also revert to Greece, as well as another Mediterranean island—I hope—whose name for reasons of policy escapes me just now.

For the moment the discussion of these questions is premature. We entered the war without bargaining, because it was our duty towards ourselves to fight as we did. We are continuing in our war effort unceasingly without bargaining, and one has been brought up to believe that “virtue reaps its own reward,” and I have no doubt that it does.



## ARE THERE HUMAN INSTINCTS ? <sup>1</sup>

By T. H. PEAR, M.A., B.Sc.,

PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

THE addresses which I have been honoured to deliver in this Library in past years, though their titles refer to different psychological problems, are connected by many threads. To-day's lecture continues certain themes in those entitled "Psychologists and Culture," "Psycho-Analysis and Normal Psychology" and "Psychological Aspects of English Social Stratification."<sup>2</sup> Discussions of all these subjects involve one in the necessity of using a word to indicate innate human tendencies. A favourite term is Instinct.

The many different senses in which the word Instinct is used to-day would be a profitable subject for a dissertation by someone who had the necessary philological and historical training. But the use of Instinct by psychologists themselves is not consistent. Significantly, the Editor of the *British Journal of Educational Psychology* considered it desirable this year to hold a symposium on the question, "Is the Doctrine of Instincts Dead?" The contributors were Professor C. Burt, Dr. P. E. Vernon, Professor J. Drever, Professor E. L. Thorndike, Dr. C. S. Myers and the present writer.<sup>3</sup> Appearing simultaneously with their articles were some by Professor J. C. Flügel, on Sublimation; a psycho-analytic concept which involves that of Instinct.<sup>4</sup> For reasons of space they cannot be summarised here. I can do little more than to indicate my own views, referring to other beliefs when they differ from mine in ways which it might seem profitable to examine. It is thirty-two years since a British symposium was held on this subject.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Amplified from the notes of a lecture given at the John Rylands Library, Manchester, on 11th November, 1942. Part of the present article has appeared in the *British Journal of Educational Psychology* for November, 1942. It is reproduced here by kind permission of the Editor.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

<sup>3</sup> 1942, Vol. 12.

<sup>4</sup> 1942, Vol. 12, pp. 10-25, 97-107, 162-165.

<sup>5</sup> *British Journal of Psychology*, Vol. III, 1910.

It is very pleasing to note the appearance of Dr. Myers in both series.

Is the doctrine of Instincts dead? One may subscribe to, promulgate, stand aloof from or oppose a doctrine. Whether it is alive, moribund, in a trance or dead will be shown by the ways in which it affects behaviour.

"Is it true?" is a reasonable question, for many untrue doctrines are far from dead. To answer this may lead into dreary, familiar metaphysical morasses. Let us by-pass them by agreeing that observable *phenomena* of behaviour exist, and certain *concepts*, permitting us to subsume knowledge of the phenomena into more general systems, by the aid of which we may predict and control behaviour, and understand experience. We can then ask: "Does the doctrine work?"

A question of fact would be: "Where and in what forms is this doctrine being promulgated at present?" To reply, one would need encyclopædic knowledge of current events in psychological organisations, including those of the Axis Powers, of the activities of prominent people who quote 'psychology' for their purposes, and great ability to translate accurately from one language to another. Anyone lacking these qualifications might consult Professor Gordon W. Allport's article, "The Psychologist's Frame of Reference";<sup>1</sup> text-books used currently in Great Britain and recent numbers of *The British Journal of Psychology*, *The British Journal of Medical Psychology*, and *The British Journal of Educational Psychology*.

Dr. Vernon says: "There are very few living American psychologists who would not answer 'yes' to the question stated in our title." In Great Britain Professors Burt, Drever and Myers would reply 'No.' Does this represent a clash of opinion as complete as it appears? I doubt it. Is there a paucity of evidence, allowing different conclusions to be drawn from the same facts? I believe that if the behaviour of non-human animals be adjudged as relevant to this problem, there is an embarrassing richness of facts. If, on the other hand, to argue from the behaviour of lower animals to that of man is unjustified, we are left with evidence less in quantity and different in quality. A com-

<sup>1</sup> *Psychological Bulletin*, 1940, 37, 1-28.

petent bird-watcher can describe accurately the way in which a particular bird builds its nest, and the manner of deviation, if any, of its offspring's behaviour. There is no such record of the conduct and thoughts of a human couple preparing to house themselves and their future offspring in 1942. To such points we shall return.

Many American psychologists look coldly upon the concept of Instinct, not because they disbelieve that man has innate tendencies, but because they think the instinct controversy is chiefly verbal, not factual. This point of view is worth expounding since it is important not only in psychology but in allied studies. An excellent discussion of this question has been given by Dr. R. H. Thouless.<sup>1</sup>

He points out that the scientific, as opposed to the philosophical, tradition in the social sciences has led to a dislike of discussing verbal problems. Directing attention to the facts of the social sciences, rather than to ways of talking about them, is almost wholly desirable. Nevertheless, words are the tools of science. Care must be given to tools, although it is good that this attention should be regarded as a means, not as an end, in social investigation.

Clearly, we can guard against some difficulties by defining the way in which "Instinct" can be used. This I will do in a moment. Yet speculative thinkers sometimes use definitions as a manner of defining facts, not merely of making clear the senses in which words are being used. I agree with Thouless when he says<sup>2</sup>

the current controversy as to the existence of human instincts is largely verbal. It is only when the verbal differences between the disputants are cleared up that we can see plainly the residuum of differences as to matters of fact which divides them. This difference, though real, is much less than appears at first sight and less difficult to resolve ;

and (p. 18),

often there are insuperable practical difficulties in making an experimental test of a purely factual problem (as of many of the problems of the effect of nature

<sup>1</sup> *General and Social Psychology*, 1937, pp. 14-19, London, University Tutorial Press ; also Chapter 5, "Problems of Terminology in the Social Sciences," in *The Study of Society*, edited by F. C. Bartlett and others, 1939, London, Kegan Paul.

<sup>2</sup> *General and Social Psychology*, p. 17.



and nurture in the human child). Such problems are not for this reason to be regarded as verbal or meaningless.

Which of the possible meanings of instinct are we to accept? Professor Drever favours a very early one; the use by the Greeks of the word *horme* (translated by the Romans as *instinctus*) to signify what nowadays would be called drive, urge or impulse. I think, however, that everybody would agree that man has inborn drives, urges or impulses. Discussion seems to centre around the question of whether a certain named drive or urge is general in nature, or whether from the very beginning several, or many of them are differentiated and specified; whether such drives, originally directed towards a particular biologically useful aim, are quite early diverted towards others, some of which are not biologically useful; how far such inborn drives are recognisable in the highly complex, sophisticated behaviour of modern man, and finally whether it can be argued that because a certain complex type of human activity may originally have been actuated by a simple drive, the activity, observed much later (often subtly changed and 'civilised') must necessarily be regarded as driven by the same motive power. This will bring us to the question of 'functional autonomy.'

Professor Burt considers that in this region psychologists' disputes "turn rather on the choice of names to be used in interpreting the facts, and on the precise significance to be attached to the terms rejected or selected." His own definition is based upon that of Professor William McDougall, "since it is his use of the word that has led to the most prolific and suggestive applications of the notion to human affairs, and his interpretation of the word that has been for the most part adopted by those who have so freely employed it. The minor amendments that I shall venture to make are designed to dispense with needless subsidiary assumptions that have been largely responsible for misconceptions and objections." He continues:

By an instinct I understand a complex inherited tendency, common to all members of a species, impelling each individual (i) to perceive and pay attention to certain objects or situations, (ii) to become pleasurably or unpleasurably excited about those objects whenever they are perceived, and (iii) thereupon to act in a way likely in the long run to preserve the individual, or at any rate the species, so

acting. The tendency is necessarily threefold : cognitive, affective and conative, because all concrete mental tendencies possess this triple character. To restrict the word to one aspect of mental process only, namely, to overt actions, as distinct from the feelings and the perceptions that accompany or immediately precede those actions, seems to me as wrong as it is unhelpful. And it is still more fallacious to try to limit it to actions that are *wholly* unlearned.

An instinct, then, is far more than a particularly complicated reflex. "The difference is that instinctive conduct does, and reflex action does not, pre-suppose the co-operation of consciousness"—that is, of cognitive attention, of emotional interest, of conative variation according as the immediate outcome leads to feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction—all tending to produce widespread modifications of the original behaviour as a result of repeated experience. Instinctive action is thus essentially a manifestation of mental energy ; it involves an urge, a drive, a determined striving. Reflex action, however complex, is as mechanical and effortless as a well-practised habit. Instincts, therefore, are no mere substitute for learning ; they have an educative value as conditions of learning along certain specifiable directions.<sup>1</sup>

It is not so easy to present the other side of the controversy, since those who do not 'believe' in instincts may use concepts of very different kinds. We may be thankful that no homogeneous and regimented 'anti-instinct school' exists. But so many writings have been directed against Instinct that it is as difficult to characterise them as to indict a nation. Professor Raymond B. Cattell's views on this subject are interesting :

The history of the notion of instinct in American psychology will some day make curious and even entertaining reading for those intrigued by the impact of the fashionable and irrational upon the course of scientific thought. To state the matter in a brief metaphor, instinct has been hastily and ignominiously thrown out by the front door only to be shamefacedly invited in again at the back under such varied disguises as wish, urge, drive, propensity, vector, motive, visceral tension, craving, appetite, need or want. All of these at least agree in considering the individual as something more than a hyphen between a stimulus and a response, i.e. in considering that there is behaviour-energy to be discharged. Most of these diffident creatures so clandestinely readmitted fall short of giving adequate specialisation and definition to the behaviour concerned. They fail also in grammatical usefulness and cannot be refined sufficiently from their popular vagueness ; so that, as technical terms, they would always trail a rabble of erroneous connotations behind them in every discussion. Reluctant though every psychologist should be to enter upon verbal invention, it is imperative here to mint a clear-cut verbal coin which is convenient in size and cannot readily be battered out of recognition in the market of disputation.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1941, XI, pp. 157-158.

<sup>2</sup> "Sentiment or Attitude?" *Character and Personality*, 1940, IX, p. 14.

Readers with austere minds (though the adjective originally described a harsh, drying wind) will regard our journey into theory as—to borrow the Government's phrase—not really necessary. Yet I want to say why I think an answer to our question is urgently desirable and to indicate why even if it is not reached now it seems nearer than in 1910.

One may begin this discussion at the bottom or the top of the subject, though as a visualiser, I suspect this phrase to be misleading. We may select examples of human behaviour which appear to show all or most of the marks of instinct (the bottom) or adjustments extremely important in to-day's struggle for existence, yet so overlaid with 'civilisation' that the instinctive tinge is hardly noticeable (the top). Three obvious examples of the latter class catch my eye and ear this morning; a soldier, bent under many lethal and anti-lethal pendants, passes the window, while a radio-voice, unconsciously competing with local explosions, probably from guns, says that Bach's music makes him feel mankind's essential sanity. These events, though complex, deserve study, for psychology, as Gestalt psychologists have shown, has long been hampered by a cult of pseudo-simplicity.

Anyhow, such happenings are the stuff of life as we know it to-day. If the study of ants, rats and the entire population of a Zoo can help us to understand these three events and as a result to alter human behaviour so that some day we shall have more sanity, let us go ahead. But if zoolatry, or the wrong kind of respect for the memories of Darwin and Pavlov is to mislead us for a century, let us blame not zoologists but ourselves. If here and there psychologists have escaped in imagination to a biological Never-Never Land, the fault is theirs.

Let us consider examples of human behaviour which seem important, whether at the bottom or the top of the scale. In what ways will the themes of the present discussion differ from those of 1910? Several new topics are prominent. I shall not try to arrange them in order of interest, importance or urgency.

(1) *War*.—Since 1914 few countries have been free from wars or threats of them. Whatever views an academic psychologist may hold about the rôle of instincts in war, non-academic



speakers and writers are expressing strong opinions very freely, already with results serious for the communities in which the psychologists live. Do they consider this matter as outside their province?

(2) *Culture-patterns*.—Warfare, says Dr. Ruth Benedict (is a) “social theme that may or may not be used in any culture.”<sup>1</sup>

(3) *Social psychology*.—Nowadays in almost any discussion of a psychological problem the importance of the social *milieu* is more heavily underlined than in 1910.<sup>2</sup>

(4) *Psycho-analysis and its derivatives*.—So far as this doctrine assumes the existence of human instincts, it is relevant to (1), (2), (3) above.

(5) *The psychology of personality*.—It insists upon the uniqueness of the individual, and, under G. W. Allport's influence, uses the concept of functional autonomy, which will be considered later.

(6) The relative importance, in the growth of the world's culture, of *diffusion* and of *independent origin* respectively.

(7) The nature of *national character*, if this concept is of any scientific use.

In his introduction to *Reading I've Liked*,<sup>3</sup> Mr. Clifton Fadiman says, “Ennui, felt on the proper occasions, is a sign of intelligence.” It is difficult to follow up this remark without appearing to imply that ennui towards the subject of human instinct is necessarily a sign of intelligence, which would be too flattering, or that continued interest in it signifies the opposite,

<sup>1</sup> *Patterns of Culture*, 1935, pp. 30 ff., London, 1935, Methuen.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. F. C. Bartlett (ed. by), *The Study of Society*, 1939, London, Kegan Paul. Before judging the value to sociologists of psychoanalytic method and findings it is necessary to decide upon the importance to be attached to human instinct. This subject is illuminatingly discussed by Ernest W. Burgess, “The Influence of Sigmund Freud upon Sociology in the United States,” *American Journal of Sociology*, 1939, XLV, 356-374. Cf. also B. Malinowski, *Sex and Repression in Savage Society*, London, Kegan Paul; L. L. Bernard, “The Misuse of Instinct in the Social Sciences,” *Psychological Review*, 1931, XXVIII, 96-119; “Instinct” *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, 1930-1935, New York, Macmillan, VIII, 82; Ellsworth Faris, “Are Instincts Data or Hypotheses?” *American Journal of Sociology*, 1921-1922, XXVII, 184-186; Karin Horney, *The Neurotic Personality of our Time* and *New Ways in Psychoanalysis*, London, Kegan Paul.

<sup>3</sup> 1941, p. xli, New York, Simon and Schuster.

which would be impertinence. Yet enthusiasm for the instinct-doctrine may have decreased lately. The 'anti-instinct' movement, however, appears to have made little overt progress in Great Britain. Why, apart from the possibility that it was considered unjustifiable? Perhaps the first campaign, which used advertising techniques now familiar, did not appeal to those psychologists who, with ironic detachment, were studying the new art of creating wants.

The tone of voice in which early behaviourism stated its case, and its slipshod terminology, stiffened a few already rubberless necks. The accounts of the 'conditioning' of young children to fear were regarded with irreverence by some psychologists, who indeed criticised the interpretation of the facts, pointing out the great biological distance between shrinking boys and slaving dogs. The case against heredity was put so recklessly, and at times with what Henry James might have termed such "romping amid the ruins of the English language," that many who regarded the importance of environmental factors as great, and that of heredity to have been grossly over-stated for several generations, were far from "blinded with a great hope," as one enthusiastic reviewer was. Suspecting that the instinct-controversy might turn out to be chiefly verbal, they perhaps thought it might be shelved until some new protagonists used terms to make, rather than to blur distinctions. That day having come, the question can be discussed coolly.

Since we are discussing whether the doctrine is dead, it is fair to consider the possibility that during the last thirty years it may have been fashionable to oppose the concept. In psychology, arbiters of vogue (they exist in other sciences, too) may have partly directed the activities of their juniors. Professor Madison Bentley has reminded us of this factor in the development of psychology :

The tenure of an assistantship, the difficulty of learning a new jargon, commending letters from an instructor, the defence of a doctoral thesis, the complacent bigotry of one's laboratory, imitative mouthings against the basely practical or the uselessly abstract, a hatred of introspectionism or worship of a Wundt or a Galton, stupidity or ineptitude in observation, any one of these could have turned the

trick and limited freedom to the floor space of the multiple-choice box. "So free we seem, so fettered fast we are."<sup>1</sup>

In America there seems to have been a widespread aversion to the concept of instinct. And, noting the popularity in Germany since 1933 of slogans like "We think with our blood" and "We spit upon reason," American psychologists might feel inclined to relinquish the concept of 'instinct' to the Nazi propaganda department. As I write, the *Völkischer Beobachter* (20th July) reminds Britain that she, not America or Russia, is spurring Germany's warlike instincts. Still, most propagandists, naïve or sophisticated, who attack a nation, use language implying, if not a concept of unalterable human instincts, something like it. Has not a cartoonist depicted them visiting a zoo in the hope of discovering some rare, repulsive animal hitherto unemployed as a symbol of the enemy? And Professor Morris Ginsberg's discussion of national character<sup>2</sup> demonstrates the slender hope of applying to it successfully any simple concept of instinct. He writes :

It is the habit of those who explain national character in terms of race to refer highly complex institutions to specific innate tendencies. McDougall<sup>3</sup> (p. 223), for example, explains the prevalence of a centralised system of government in France mainly by the supposed intensity of the gregarious instinct in the Mediterranean and Alpine races. But from gregariousness to centralised government is surely a far cry. The evidence of all those who know the French character intimately is to suggest that the attitude of the French to the State is not that which would be expected from a spontaneous play of the social tendencies. Madariaga<sup>4</sup> describes the state in France as something mechanical rather than organic. M. Paul Gaultier<sup>5</sup> stresses the fundamental individualism of the French, their lack of discipline and social cohesion, and he even speaks of an instinctive opposition to the state<sup>5</sup> (p. 156). It is clear that if social institutions are to be referred to underlying psychological causes, use will have to be made of much more complex constellations than the instincts, and it seems highly probable that from very similar instinctive equipment very different forms of social grouping may arise.

<sup>1</sup> Carl Murchison (ed.), *History of Psychology in Autobiography*, III, pp. 53-69, London, Humphrey Milford.

<sup>2</sup> "National Character," *British Journal of Psychology*, 1942, XXXII, pp. 183-204.

<sup>3</sup> *The Group Mind*, 1920, Cambridge University Press.

<sup>4</sup> *Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards*.

<sup>5</sup> *L'Ame française*, 1936.



In recent articles, "The Psychology of Psychologists" and "Psychologists and Culture,"<sup>1</sup> I ventured to call the attention of psychologists to the importance of culture-patterns in our own profession. An examination of German psychology since 1933 ought to convince any doubter of this. Most of us, for all our desire to be well informed, find that there are certain aspects of our subject about which we intend to learn more some day, which never comes. It seems reasonable to assume that in Great Britain there may have been, on the whole, more sympathy with an instinct-concept, asserting the importance of the past, than with one which attributes illimitable possibilities to the future. Mr. Howard Spring, born in Wales, has discussed this factor with many Americans. Quoting "A new nation, conceived in Liberty and *dedicated to the proposition* that all men are created equal," he italicises these words in Lincoln's address, for the benefit of English readers who might believe that it declared all men to have been created equal. He holds that Lincoln seems to be saying, "Let's give it a chance; let's get down to it and see how the idea works out."<sup>2</sup> In a new population, whose forefathers left Europe with hatred for its predominant culture-patterns, there will be more enthusiasm for theories which permit the belief that man can quickly change his nature, especially when unnecessary obstacles once claimed to be 'natural' are removed. In his *A Hundred Years of Psychology* Professor J. C. Flügel has argued that Adler's ideas are likely to be more popular in the new than in the old countries. Professor Gilbert Murray, in advice to students about to mix in Geneva with others of many different nationalities, once reminded the Europeans that though they may pride themselves on their sense of the past, they should remember that in Americans a much greater space-sense may make a time-sense seem relatively less important.<sup>3</sup>

Concepts of habits, attitudes and sentiments built up during the individual's life may therefore be more attractive than that of instinct to dwellers in America.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, Vols. 23-24, 1939-1940.

<sup>2</sup> *In the Meantime*, 1942, pp. 60-61, London, Constable.

<sup>3</sup> This is quoted from memory, and therefore completely paraphrased.

It is sometimes believed that since truth is great and will prevail, fashions in a science are unimportant. Yet we might note the ways in which, during the last twenty years, preparation for war has skewed the direction of many divisions of science, and raised the questions whether science will ever be free again, and whether for the last generation she has been as free as some of her exponents pretended.

Professor Drever reminds us that our title concerns the doctrine of the instincts, and not merely Professor McDougall's theory. Though I share Professor Drever's interest in earlier theories, time will be saved if I consider McDougall's doctrine. For many psychologists accept the concept of instincts as innate driving forces, but other features of McDougall's theory are a stumbling-block to some of them.

When invited to this symposium I felt to my surprise as if asked, like Mr. John Marquand's *H. M. Pulham, Esquire*, to warm up faded enthusiasm at a college reunion. For years I have found it difficult to be deeply interested in discussing whether man has a few instincts or many and, if a few, their exact number. I have seen the need for a concept of innate dispositions tending to preserve the individual, the race, and perhaps some groups, yet with an almost guilty feeling that if to hold these bare beliefs is just to face facts, one ought to try harder to discover the facts. Instincts tending to preserve the individual seem to be quickly overcome nowadays, for wars are easier to make than to prevent. Yet the kind of human behaviour which so often claimed to be instinctive is shunned as a subject of study by many 'intellectuals.' And even before this war there were plenty of grave events in the world of crime and the mental hospitals, in China, Spain, Abyssinia and Germany to remind us that psychologists ought to try much harder to determine whether (a) man is born with any instinctive tendencies, (b) certain classes or groups possess characteristic types of instinct or unusually excitable varieties of the instincts attributed to man in general.

By many psychologists questions of type (b), seeming too silly to merit attention, are treated with ostentatious contempt. Unfortunately, however, they are being begged, and then 'settled'

over our heads by people without a scrap of psychological training. And as the answers may determine our future, it would seem reasonable, unless the cult of 'purity' in science is to become schizophrenic, that psychologists should have a say in the matter.

An obvious example is *Black Record*. Lord Vansittart, its author, has described himself as a 'professional,' and his critics as amateurs or sentimentalists. But Mr. Kingsley Martin reminds him<sup>1</sup> that the problem of the alleged unchanged characteristics of the 'Germans' is not one of professional diplomacy, but of history and sociology. And, it might be added, of social psychology. There has been much discussion of this essay.<sup>2</sup> I am not concerned here with glosses or corrections, but with the original, which attributes to the 'Germans' distinctive mental qualities, and assumes that they have not changed since the days of Tacitus. If this were true, it would necessitate the belief that certain *nations* have particularly undesirable deep-lying 'instincts.' The consequences of this belief are exhibited in many writings to-day. The time therefore seems ripe for psychologists who use the doctrine of human instincts to state clearly and very publicly their attitude towards such extensions of the term. I feel sure that they would scorn these travesties. Many would point to the doctrine, widespread among psychologists, of the sentiments; this would satisfy Lord Vansittart's critics. But personal satisfaction is unimportant. Meanwhile, many millions of people (for the views were broadcast) have been and are still being offered a grotesque doctrine, very far from dead, of national 'instincts.' This time all psychologists ought to be interested in the non-psychologists' use of language describing human behaviour.

One reason for some psychologists wishing to abandon the term altogether may be the view that if after thirty years they and their colleagues have failed to influence English-speaking people to use the word 'properly,' the sponge might be thrown up. Modern writers use 'instinct' not only for appetite and innate tendency to action, but for habit, technique, knack,

<sup>1</sup> *New Statesman and Nation*, 18th July, 1942, pp. 35-36.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. V. Gollancz, *Shall our Children Live or Die?* 1942, London, Gollancz; K. Martin, *Propaganda's Harvest*, 1941, London, Kegan Paul.



attitude, sentiment, intuition, even for acquired tastes. Here are examples casually chosen from books and conversations. Most English scholars could improve upon them in a short half-hour:

"A best-seller must have something in it that appeals to some deep primitive instinct. Now food and drink being in short supply, and eating and drinking undoubtedly being primitive instincts . . ."—John Hadfield, reviewer, proceeds to point out that William Shirer's *Berlin Diary* contains fifty-eight references to food and drink.

"You go (i.e. your tongue goes) there instinctively."—Dentist, on a broken tooth.

"Some inherited instinct and legendary skill must go to the making of these exquisite and ephemeral mosaics."—Howard Spring, on the Derbyshire floral "well-dressing," *In the Meantime*.

"A country which was complacent, false to its own deep instincts of decency, and decadent."—*Ibid*.

"She isn't a lady, but she has the instincts of one."—English, anonymous, authentic.

Mr. and Mrs. Biddle in Norway "showed an instinct for diplomacy from the first".—A. J. Liebling, *New Yorker*, 13th June, 1942.

Of Drake and Cortéz ". . . both had an instinct and a luck in getting on with natives and bringing them over to their side".—John Masefield.

"I believe that war brings out many of men's finest instincts."—Rear-Admiral J. V. Creagh, *News-Chronicle*, 21st July, 1942.

"One has always suspected that *The Times* military commentator, like the General Staff, has been unable entirely to shake off gloomy professional (and extremely insular) instincts about the Russian military machine."—A. J. Cummings, *News-Chronicle*, 27th November, 1942.

"To pull the stick back in order to get the nose up, to hold it to the left in order to lift the right wing, is a reflex action a pilot uses perhaps ten times in every single minute of flight, it becomes 'instinctive.'"—Wolfgang Langeweische, "Making the Airplane Behave," *Harper's*, May, 1942, p. 623.

"Nicky had all the qualifications of becoming a great tennis player. He was tall, he had a long reach, he was quick on his feet and his timing was perfect. He realised instinctively where the ball was coming and seemingly without hurry was there to take it."—W. Somerset Maugham, *The Facts of Life*.

"This pupil showed an instinctive response to the music's essential beauty of harmony and harmonic transitions."—Criticism of a pianist's interpretation of César Franck's *Symphonic Variations*.

"Rubato" (deviation in playing music from the strict time prescribed in the score) "should be instinctive." From a radio-talk.

"It was the instinct of (Rachel's) genius which made her choose mainly the baleful heroines of classical tragedy."—Alan Dent, *Preludes and Studies*.

"Those readers who allow the ripples of her mobile fantasy to lull their own narrative instinct into repose will be left with a very durable conception of beauty and intelligence."—Harold Nicolson, *The New Spirit in Literature*, 1931, B.B.C. booklet.

"The desire (to invent stories) was too deeply rooted in my affections to be resisted in my own strength (at nine years of age). Even now (at twenty-nine) tho' watched, prayed and striven against, that is still the sin that most easily besets me."—From Sir Edmund Gosse's mother's secret diary. He comments: "This is surely a very painful instance of the repression of an 'instinct.'"—*Father and Son*.

"The urgent need in psychological affairs at the present time is to find some means of sublimating the self-assertive (and even aggressive) instinct that is so strong in every nation as well as in every individual. . . ."—Dr. William Brown, *War and the Psychological Conditions of Peace*.

"Is there not also, perhaps, besides an innate desire for freedom, an instinctive wish for submission?"—Erich Fromm, *The Fear of Freedom*.

"It was an instinctive, uninstructed and impulsive upthrust."—Lord Reith, describing his suggestion that the British Broadcasting Corporation should be established, *Picture Post*, 25th July, 1942.

"Instinct"; see "Intuition."—H. W. Fowler, *Modern English Usage*.

So far as, aided by the context, I can interpret these writers and speakers, they refer to very different kinds of mental process. I think that none of these examples shows insincerity. Occasionally in everyday life one is less sure of this. To credit someone with 'the right instincts' or with 'instinctive tact' may be a deliberate overstatement of a weak case, though sympathy, which might be partly innate, enters into many kinds of tact. Recently, as General Smuts entered the House of Commons, Mr. Lloyd George greeted him in a way described by a Parliamentary correspondent as expressing the 'instinct of the House'. Think of the analysis of overlapping concepts necessary to translate this into a workable psychology!

Occasionally the use of 'instinct' or 'intuition' may wish to suggest that an acquired financially profitable skill or judgment is unanalysable. The industrial psychologist can supply examples of this, for 'craft' and 'cunning' have both primary and derived meanings. The term 'instinct' may be used to resist any attempt to analyse so-called unconscious factors in judgment, as when it is claimed that a competent critic would instinctively recognise a faked picture or hear false sentiment in a musical composition.

Most psychologists if asked, "What is the *proprium* of an instinct?" would answer that it is innate, not acquired. Yet, it seems clear that if *instinguere* means to prick, instigate, incite or excite, a germ of obscurity exists in the word. *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* gives as the first meaning of instinct, "Natural inward impulse," adding "especially any inherited tendency, characteristic of a group or race of related animals, to perform a specific action in a specific way when the appropriate situation occurs." He offers "meaning 2; a natural aptitude or knack; predilection." Unlike the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, Webster does not give a supplementary meaning: 'intuition, unconscious skill,' which would worry the psychologist. So would the employment of 'instinctive' for 'automatic.' Yet the possibility that 'knack' might be partly based upon instinct (in the strict sense) cannot be dismissed offhand, though to discuss this would require a fuller analysis than we possess. Good examples of knack are cracking a whip and the act of release when throwing a cricket ball as far as possible. I have sketched a tentative description of 'knack,'<sup>1</sup> based chiefly upon remarks in Mr. Vivian Caulfield's *How to Ski*.

"But," the practical reader may object, "can't all these differences of terminology—though perhaps to call them that is too polite—be avoided by agreeing that well-educated non-psychologists use 'instinct' in its restricted meaning precisely as the psychologist does, but widen its connotation to include certain skills and some types of difficult judgment? Such abilities must be acquired, since the new-born baby is unskilled and its judgments naïve, but vanity and professional craftiness distract public attention from the provenance of these 'instincts.' Leave the writers and the man-in-the-street to nurse their illusions."

But are we certain about the limits of our definition? May some persons' unusual sensitivity to music, for example, be based upon inherited differences of disposition? Elgar's first 'Enigma' Variation is said to be suffused with his loneliness. If this is

<sup>1</sup> In "The Nature of Skill," Section J of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Glasgow Meeting, 1938 (printed in the *Reports* for that year).



immediately felt by some naïve listeners, but not by thousands of others, is it certain that this is not attributable to an inherited disposition, in McDougall's sense ; the sum or fusion of inherited dispositions ? An irascible, timid, or affectionate disposition, which *can* be inherited, may certainly affect one's musical appreciation or performance.

Considering the difficulty of translating words indicating emotion, even from German into English, the prevalence in war-time of slang terms to differentiate fears, and the protean forms of 'aggressiveness' in which we are now asked to believe, it is not hard to understand why writers like Allport want some better concept. Yet, when studying important human affairs to-day, is it not difficult to avoid using 'instinct ?' Most people employ it as a hypothesis when trying to understand how serious offences against the code of any but a savage community are committed. They seem forced to believe that the act, to be comprehensible, must be impelled by some inexorable, inborn drive. A poor man, caught stealing delicious food, at great risk to himself, turns out to have an ailing wife. An English poet, sent down from a university for larceny, had spent the money on an ungrateful mistress. A woman uses blandishments to steal a promotion from the man who deserved it. The mean act is not for herself, but for her husband. Reflective people, estimating the reprehensibility of these offences, would consider that they may be partly due to unusually powerful inborn 'drives' which all people possess, but perhaps in weaker forms. A bachelor don, happily studying inanimate matter, may find it hard to sympathise with maternal solicitude for an undergraduate who appears to him unattractive, stupid and lazy. Yet, remembering that the young even of ugly animals are loved by their mothers, he smilingly puts it down to 'instinct.' Can the psychologists go much farther ? Yes ; in these examples McDougall would have pointed out the importance of human sentiments. But McDougall's sentiments are based upon instincts ; if instinct be abandoned as an explanation does the sentiment go too ? Or can it, like an airship, float away from its moorings ? Allport, apparently, believes that it can, becoming 'functionally autonomous.'

Many of us cling to the concept of instinct for other reasons. Without much psychological knowledge, most people distinguish sexual jealousy from that caused by the other one's bigger and better car. 'Instinct' is employed to 'explain' socially desirable but difficult conduct.<sup>1</sup> When a doctor or nurse, in the teeth of penury and hardship, feels impelled to go on doing things which most people find extremely distasteful and irksome, we infer that instinct is at the bottom of it. Otherwise, some would say, English nurses would resent their low pay far more strongly than they do.

For fifty years many psychologists, seeking a criterion of instinct in man, have considered it natural to turn to other animals. In some discussions of warfare dogfights are seriously considered, and psychologists go to the ant. To throw light upon savings banks, squirrels are interrogated. Mother rats are described in order to 'explain' human mothers. I do not suggest that valuable evidence may not be obtained thus by the elect, whose knowledge of the lower animals and of men is wide, profound and subtle. Indeed, their conduct may exemplify what non-psychologists would term the scientist's 'right instinct'; to search for comparative evidence. Yet there are critics of this procedure. The presence, absence of degree of intensity of some modern women's 'maternal instinct' cannot be gauged by the efficiency with which they look after their children. They may tend tractors even better, while fonder mothers may do quite foolish things to their babies, and will appear to some modern minds all the sillier because of their strong 'instinct.' We may recall in this connection the writings of Ruth Benedict and of Margaret Mead.<sup>2</sup> Yet if this scientifically respectable habit of investigating the animals is to decrease in popularity, much may slip away with it, including, perhaps, Professor J. C. Flügel's idea in his *Moral Paradox of Peace and War*<sup>3</sup> that war may result from the combination and interaction in man of high degrees of aggressiveness, gregariousness and intelligence. If the concepts of aggressiveness and gregariousness as instincts

<sup>1</sup> Cf. R. W. Pickford, "Ethics and Instinct," *Ethics*, 1941, and Professor J. C. Flügel's articles on "Sublimation."

<sup>2</sup> *Sex and Temperament*, London, Kegan Paul.

<sup>3</sup> 1941, London, Watts.

were abandoned, Flügel's original suggestion might go too. This would be regrettable before it had been tried out; yet might we not have thrown off that hampering blanket, the notion of aggressiveness as an instinct, under which for the last decade many psychologists have tossed and turned uneasily? The relationship between Freud's concept of aggressiveness and McDougall's of pugnacity is difficult, and perhaps to-day unprofitable, to state precisely. For the transformations of both are so numerous and many-sided that other concepts may fit the facts better.

Scientific theorising can work only upon observed facts, and we cannot discuss here whether the psychologist's 'fact' must invariably be an event which in principle is open for everyone to perceive.<sup>1</sup> The last thirty years have seen assiduous, accurate observation of the behaviour of simpler animals; the more accurate, perhaps, the simpler the animals.

Has this been paralleled by equally careful observation and record of what civilised man actually does? Has there not been instead, a tendency for scientists to assume the pained attitude, "The more I see of men, the more I study rats," and to be applauded for taking up this 'serious' position towards human frivolity? Have not psychologists been tempted to view man's actions in the 'light' of the simpler, but obliquely relevant, facts of animal behaviour? Has it not seemed more scientific to do this, and to tell oneself that the observation of man could come later? Yet how many students of animal behaviour (I wish to record my admiration of their work) return to observe their fellow-men in prolonged interviews, as distinguished from paper-and-pencil tests, often carried out by proxy? Does not the animal laboratory offer a welcome asylum for the shy or *gauche* psychologist? Does not successful face-to-face examination of human persons require a special temperament? And do we yet draw enough distinctions between clinical or psychiatric examinations and an interview the object of which is to 'weigh up' someone as robust as the weigher? The British Army has decided that psychiatric criteria are not always the best for

<sup>1</sup> This is discussed by Dr. C. C. Pratt, *The Logic of Modern Psychology*, and appears to have been settled in advance by operational behaviourists.



judging a prospective officer's temperament and character. Has psychology developed sufficiently a technique of 'appreciating' people, free from medical or educational presuppositions? Until this side of the subject is more developed, one may continue to doubt whether the observer of animals is as helpful in this respect as some psychologists hoped he would be.

Let us see how far ideas of animal instinct help us to understand some everyday events. In this country few city dwellers can be unaware for more than a few minutes that they are personally implicated in war. Are the human activities which we actually observe usefully illuminated by the concepts of instinctive pugnacity and aggressiveness? Consider the behaviour in waging modern 'total' war. There will be instances of weaponless hand-to-hand combat, which to a casual observer may seem to resemble the fighting of animals, yet such events will be very exceptional. Moreover, to-day any pair of men fighting thus would probably include one who would use a boxing, wrestling, ju-jitsu or commando technique. The struggle would be unlike the 'fighting' of entirely uninstructed children. At a level just above this, where weapons which require no complicated handling are used, emotional disturbances would be involved, though the coolness of the expert boxer at least is said to be an asset. But when a bomber is shot down by 'flak' do any of the multifarious co-ordinated acts responsible for it resemble the fighting of dogs? Would a really angry person, with visceral disturbances running true to type, work a predictor better because of his emotions? If the man who presses the lever is to be credited with the shot, let him say if he feels pugnacious. Occasionally he answers in the negative.<sup>1</sup>

Do all men feel anger, the affective aspect of the instinct of pugnacity, at the moment when they release bombs over a quiet darkened village? If so, why? In a conscript army are the motives which cause a man to do his job (and well) comparable with those which impelled the soldier of fortune to fight for any body which would accept him?

Rhetoricians speak of a nation waging war, though 'unwarlike' work by fifteen people is said to be necessary to get one

<sup>1</sup> Cf. "Mixed Battery," by Cadet E. S. Turner, *Punch*, 27th May, 1942.

fighting man into the air. Since these 'non-combatants' are regarded as legitimate targets, they are scarcely unwarlike. If the members of a war-propaganda department are regarded as pugnacious as well as aggressive, their type of pugnacity seems far removed from the tiger's. Few inspirers of economic warfare look warlike, yet their gentle pen-pushing was powerful in winning the last war. Moreover, economic tactics disturbed and shortened the peace of 1918-1939.

Nowadays, to make a fighter out of even a fit man, months or years of training are considered necessary. Much of this is learning to understand and to handle scientific instruments. It may differ little from laboratory instruction. Drill is given to instil specific habits, many of which are obviously necessary, though some are disapproved in certain quarters. There is special practice in hand-eye co-ordination. Lastly, live ammunition is used in training, to ensure that the soldier shall crawl on his belly and *not* get pugnacious or aggressive, until ordered to do so.<sup>1</sup> In air raids great courage was shown by people who not only had had no practice in hitting back at the enemy, but knew that they could never do so. Mass-Observation reports little desire for mere retaliation, even in bombed districts. We need a revised psychological description of warfare, in which the part played by actual fighting, which is great, is not obscured by rhetorical and romantic mis-descriptions of other factors. It might seem ironical to ask how much help in understanding warfare can come from study of our nearest cousins, the apes. Why have they not developed warfare? In trying to answer this question, is one necessarily thrown back to some hypothesis of instinct?

Turning from pugnacity to acquisitiveness, if it is to be considered as a human instinct, can it be supposed that at the moment the British are acquisitive? By some workers money above a certain limit is regarded as not worth earning, since it is heavily taxed and there is little to spend it on. Mass-Observers report that what many people in the factories want at present is a lot of security, not a lot of money. Much acquisition nowadays is motivated by an attempt to gain security for the worker's family.

<sup>1</sup> See "Battle School," *New Statesman and Nation*, 18th July, 1942, p. 595.

Yet during the 'blitz-winter,' "as safe as houses" became a grim joke not only in the financial world but literally.

It is perhaps legitimate to point out that while many people are far from ashamed of being called pugnacious or aggressive—indeed, these may be proclaimed as virtues—they may wince at being called greedy. During the last twenty years politicians often proclaimed that wars are due to fear. "Remove fear . . .," etc. They never added that the greed of individuals (a factor more easily localisable than the fear of nations) may have played a greater part.

My reason for feeling unable to accept McDougall's instinct-doctrine wholeheartedly is that it refers man's adult behaviour to a relatively small number of inborn tendencies, called by some handy English name. The fact is that to characterise different kinds of fear, in the spheres of life where fear must be recognised, people perpetually invent 'synonyms,' slang terms which mark off differences: 'windy,' 'cold feet,' 'yellow.' This suggests that the ordinary concept of fear is not broad enough. Let us examine an example of to-day. A fire-watcher, belonging to a Good Neighbour group, after months of quiescence, finds himself in the open with enemy planes overhead. Our guns open up. At once he thinks it might be wise to seek a doorway to avoid shell-splinters, then remembers that to do this, if incendiaries are not seen, is part of his duty. As he reaches shelter he feels slightly excited. His pulse has quickened; is it fear or exhilaration? He goes out again into the open. Distant bombs drop. He has visceral sensations. Fear? Shame? Embarrassment? Guilt? Who except he is to say? And delicate discrimination in describing emotions is rarely expected from firemen. Every year one tries to explain to English students what *Angst* means—and usually fails. 'Pugnacity' and 'aggressiveness,' as used in English at least, seem to cover everything between blind destruction and the insinuating, ultra-polite, nearly-friendly technique used to sell unwanted goods or ideas. Again, what is regarded as legitimate healthy self-expression in one English county is called truculence in another. Is it therefore remarkable that the instinct-controversy is regarded by many as chiefly verbal in nature?



This view is not weakened by the reflection that most terms implying instinct when used by psycho-analysts writing in English, have been translated from German, the language in which Freud thought. Good translation calls for profound knowledge not only of psycho-analysis but of both German and English. Does not this increase our difficulties? Again, if all mental and bodily processes in a person which may help to win this war for his side are termed 'pugnacious' where is the line to be drawn? The slogan says, "Hit back with Victory Bonds." Must we believe that every young woman who sells them either in a busy office or at a Society ball is lashed by hot fury? Careful study of her behaviour and speech would not always suggest this.

I will now illustrate the differences between Allport's and McDougall's views.<sup>1</sup>

The Instinct theory affirms that there are propensities operating prior to experience and independent of training. In the infant, there is, for example, a latent propensity that will later lead him to construct, and another to acquire, one to mate, another to imitate, another to seek companionship of his fellows. The primordial stream of activity is considered to contain within itself *directions* which determine its whole course of development.<sup>2</sup> It is impossible to discern any such elaborated positive dispositions in the conduct of the new-born infant. Consequently, proponents of the instinct-doctrine lean heavily on the theory of maturation, which holds that this providential equipment of goal-seeking processes must take time to ripen, and that throughout life the instincts, one after another, come of age. It is simpler to account for such types of influence if and when they are present than to assume that 'instincts' are common to a species and then have to explain away the many exceptions when the 'instincts' fail to appear.

The purposes of different people are far too diverse to be traced to a few primal motives shared by all the species. It is

<sup>1</sup> Gordon W. Allport, *Personality, a Psychological Interpretation*, London, Constable. From here until page 167 the views cited are Allport's. Comments by the present writer are in footnotes.

<sup>2</sup> Compare this with Burt's definition of Instinct on page 140.

necessary to allow for the learning of *new* motives and the acquisition of *novel* interests as personality matures. When people seek the same goals, the fact may be explained by assuming that similarly constituted individuals living in similar environments influenced by similar culture *would* develop similar goals and employ similar modes of obtaining them.

If so, instincts evaporate, turning out to be constellations of emotion, habit and foresight, better called *sentiments* or *interests* and regarded as acquired rather than innate.<sup>1</sup> Learning would then serve not merely as a way of extending and modifying purposes, but also of *creating* them. And the fact that many of these purposes are fairly common to mankind could be readily explained without recourse to an hypothesis of racial inheritance.

The question of instinct in animals should not confuse the issue, for there is such flexibility in learning, in making and breaking habits and so much insight, foresight and delay in response that human goals must be viewed as different in kind from the stereotyped objectives of lower animals.

What is the alternative to the Instinct-hypothesis? A beginning, but only a beginning, may be made in the theory of Drive, defined as a vital impulse which leads to the resumption of some segmental organic tension. It has its origin in an internal organic stimulus of peculiar persistence, growing characteristically stronger until the organism acts in such a way as to alleviate the accumulated tension.

This doctrine, while inadequate to account for *adult* motivation, offers a suitable portrayal of the motives of *young infants*, and for that reason serves as the starting-point of a theory of motivation. After infancy is past, primitive segmental drives rapidly recede in importance, being supplanted by the more sophisticated types of motives characteristic of the mature personality, and commonly represented by such terms as interest,

<sup>1</sup> McDougall's theory of sentiment, regarding it as a system of emotional dispositions (emotion in its turn being the subjective aspect of instinct), directly links sentiment with instinct. Allport does not seem, so far as I grasp his general exposition, to state precisely *how* the sentiment is related to the early 'drives.' And in Allport's above sentence could not 'as well as' be substituted with advantage for 'rather than'?

sentiment, value, trait, ambition, tastes and inclination. Obviously none of these motives is found full-fledged in the newborn child.

At this point it may be asked how Allport treats the work of psychologists—especially of psycho-analysts—who attach enormous importance to sex. He regards sex as an outstanding instance of drive, and nobody would argue against the facts which make sex an obvious example for a theory of maturation. But to deviate for a moment, on this subject Dr. Vernon writes as follows :

Certainly the whole human race shows the simple propensities such as breathing, evacuation, sleeping and the hunger and sex-appetites. But the sex-appetite expresses itself in exceedingly diverse ways in different societies. The central core of impulse, so far as it is dependent upon endocrine conditions and certain of the sensations and reflexes involved in coitus, is doubtless innate. But even the strength of the impulse in our own society may be greatly affected, as Stagner points out, by this society's attitude towards sexual phenomena.<sup>1</sup>

To return : Allport (p. 187) asserts that psycho-analysis, especially the Freudian variety, succeeds in the almost impossible task of *over-emphasising* the rôle of sexual motivation and interest in the human person. This is no small accomplishment, for—in Western culture at least—sexual tensions are in fact the most important single factor in the development of most personalities ; or rather *sex would be the most important single factor if there were any single factors, which there are not.*

Biological motives never operate singly. Sex in normal life never stands alone, it is tied to all manner of personal images, sanctions, tastes, interests, ambitions, codes and ideals. In its stark biological simplicity, sexuality is segmental in the organism, often insistent but never devoid of mental ramifications ; in these ramifications it is indeed pervasive, but it is no longer mere sexuality ; it becomes diffused into the major systems of interests and traits which are themselves the *fundamental* structural and functional systems of personality.

Psycho-analysts over-emphasise sex by an illogical procedure. Whatever form of behaviour or thought is *ever* found in *any* life, to be associated with sex, they seem to assume to be *always*

<sup>1</sup> Ross Stagner, *Psychology of Personality*, 1937, New York, McGraw-Hill.



connected with sex in *every* life. This procedure produces such absurdities as in interpreting the infant's bad memory as guilt-repressions (the justification being that neurotic adults are known *sometimes* to dissociate painful sexual memories of guilt from their own consciousness) or the dogma that all individuals normally have erotic attachments to the opposite-sexed parent (because some neurotics report incestuous impulses). Actually what is true is that the extreme lability of sexual life makes all manner of associations and all manner of conflicts *possible*, but not every libidinous attachment or conflict of one person need be regarded as a psycho-sexual peculiarity of all people. The ramifications of sexual interests are broad enough and deep enough in any life without the need to exaggerate their place by making the sexual history of certain typical neurotics the prototype for personality in general. In spite of its biologically uniform aspect, in its psychological organisation sexuality is a remarkably idiosyncratic matter.

This is why sex as such cannot be regarded as a single factor of motivation nor as the native element in personality. A life is not simply a variation on a uniform pattern of psycho-sexuality, but on the contrary the sexuality of a life can be understood only if it is regarded as one of the variations within the total and complete pattern of personality. Except in the most infra-personal sense there is no such concrete fact as sex ; when one speaks of sex habits and sex adjustments one only means *personal* habits and *personal* adjustments, having partial but not exclusive reference to the segmental biological foundations of sex. Personality then is not a system of formation within a matrix of sex.

What is true of sex is true of every other so-called instinct. Human motives are highly individual affairs. It misrepresents them to say that they are only changes rung upon universal themes. Motives are always dynamic formation of minds-in-particular and they can only be understood if the course of their individual transformation is known.

This leads on to the concept of functional autonomy (p. 190). Somehow in the process of maturing the manifold potentialities and dispositions of childhood coalesce into sharper, more distinctive motivational systems. *Pari passu* with their emergence the

systems take upon themselves effective driving power, operating as mature, autonomous motives quite different in aim and in character from the motivational systems of juvenile years, and very different indeed from the crude organic tensions of infancy. So a new principle of growth must be introduced to supplement the more traditional genetic concept. It is called the *functional autonomy of motives*.

The usual type of dynamic psychology may satisfy those who wish to discover the *abstract* motives of *abstract* personalities, but does not provide a foundation sound enough or flexible enough to bear the weight of any *single* full-bodied personality. The reason is that all prevailing dynamic doctrines refer every mature motive of personality to underlying original instincts, wishes or needs shared *by all men*. Thus the concert artist's devotion to his music might be "explained" as an extension of his "self-assertive instinct," of the "need for sentience" or as a symptom of some repressed striving of "the libido." The principle is that a very few basic motives suffice for explaining the endless varieties of human interests. And the psychoanalyst holds the same over-simplified theory. The number of human interests that he regards as so many canalisations of the one basic sexual instinct is past computation.

But this type of dynamic psychology concerns itself only with mind in general. It is plain enough to a naïve observer that motives are almost infinitely varied among men, not only in form but in substance. Not four wishes nor eighteen propensities nor any and all combinations of these, even with their extensions and variations, seem adequate to account for the endless variety of goals sought by an endless variety of mortals.

Here the traditional scientists including the older dynamic psychologists, may ask, "How are we ever to have a *science* of unique events? Science must generalise." Perhaps it must, but what the objectors forget is that *a general law may be a law that tells how uniqueness comes about*.

The dynamic psychology proposed here regards adult motives as infinitely varied, and as self-sustaining *contemporary* systems, growing out of antecedent systems but functionally independent of them. Just as a child gradually repudiates his dependence on

his parents, develops a will of his own, becomes self-active and self-determining, and outlives his parents, so it is with motives. Each motive has a definite point of origin which may lie in the hypothetical instincts or more likely in the organic tensions and diffused irritability described already (p. 159). Theoretically all adult purposes can be traced to these seed-forms in infancy. But as the individual matures the bond is broken. The tie is historical, not functional.

Such a theory is opposed to psycho-analysis and to all other genetic accounts that assume inflexibility in the root purposes and drives of life. (Freud says that the structure of the Id *never* changes.) The theory declines to believe that the energy of adult personality is infantile or archaic in nature. Motivation is *always* contemporary. The life of a tree is continuous with that of its seed, but the seed no longer sustains and nourishes the full-grown tree. Earlier purposes lead into later purposes, but are abandoned in their favour. The psychology of personality must be a psychology of post-instinctive behaviour.

An excellent example illustrates several aspects of his theory simultaneously :

The pursuit of literature, the development of good taste in clothes, the use of cosmetics, the acquiring of an automobile, strolls in the public park, or a winter in Miami, may first serve, let us say, the interests of sex. But every one of these instrumental activities may become an interest in itself, held for a lifetime, long after the erotic motive has been laid away in lavender. People often find that they have lost allegiance to their original aims because of their deliberate preference for the many ways of achieving them.

Evidence is also offered from experimental and clinical studies where some new function emerges as an independently structured unit from preceding functions. The activity of these new units does not depend upon the continued activity of the units from which they developed. The studies cited (pp. 198-202) are of the following :

1. *The Circular Reflex*. Everyone has observed the almost endless repetitions of an act by a small child. The good-natured parent who picks up a spoon repeatedly thrown down by a baby wearies of this occupation long before the infant does. The act is self-perpetuating until it is inhibited by new activities or fatigues.



2. *Conative Perseveration*. Many experiments show that un-completed tasks set up tensions that tend to keep the individual at work until they are resolved. *Interrupted tasks are better remembered than completed tasks*.<sup>1</sup> There is the sound advice to drivers of automobiles or aeroplanes who have been involved in an accident, that they drive again immediately to conquer the shock of the accident lest the fear become set into a permanent phobia.

3. "*Conditioned Reflexes*" *Not Requiring Reinforcement*. The pure fear-conditioned reflex readily dies out unless the secondary stimulus is occasionally reinforced by the primary stimulus. The dog does not continue to salivate whenever it hears a bell unless sometimes at least an edible offering accompanies the bell. But there are innumerable instances in human life where a single association, *never* reinforced, results in the establishment of a lifelong dynamic system.

4. *Counterparts in Animal Behaviour*. Rats who will first learn a certain habit only under the incentive of some specific tension, as hunger, will after learning often perform the habit even when fed to repletion.<sup>2</sup>

5. *Rhythm*. Even a mollusc whose habits of burrowing in the sand and reappearing depend upon the movements of the tide, will, when removed from the beach to the laboratory, continue for several days in the same rhythm without the tide.

6. *Neuroses*. Why are acquired tics, stammering, sexual perversions, phobias and anxieties so stubborn and often incurable? Even psycho-analysis with its deepest of depth probing seldom succeeds in effecting *complete* cures in such causes, though the patient may feel relieved, or at least reconciled to his difficulties after treatment. The reason seems to be that what are usually called 'symptoms' are in reality something more. They have set themselves up in their own right as independent systems of motivation. Merely disclosing their roots does not change their independent activity.

<sup>1</sup> B. Zeigarnik, *Psychologische Forschungen*, 1927, IX, 1-85.

<sup>2</sup> J. D. Dodgson, *Psychology*, 1919, I, 231-276; K. S. Lashley, *Psychological Review*, 1924, XXXI, 192-202.

7. *The Relation between Ability and Interest.* It has often been demonstrated that the skill learned for some external reasons turns into an interest and is self-propelling even though the original reason for pursuing it has been lost. Industrial research has shown that when special incentives are offered and work speeded up as a consequence, and then these special incentives removed, *the work may continue at the speeded rate.* The habit of working at a faster tempo persists without external support.

8. *Sentiments versus Instincts.* The alleged 'instincts' of maternal conduct, gregariousness, curiosity, workmanship and the like, are regarded as acquired sentiments.

9. *The Dynamic Character of Personal Values.* The existence of a well-established acquired interest exerts a directive and determining effect on conduct just as is to be expected of any dynamic system.

The above is a summary of the specific advantages of Allport's theory. It clears the way for a completely dynamic psychology of traits, interests and sentiments, the ultimate and true disposition of the mature personality.

It avoids the absurdity of regarding the energy of life now in the present as somehow consisting of early archaic forms (instincts, prepotent reflexes, or the never changing-Id).

It dethrones the stimulus. A motive is no longer regarded as a mechanical reflex. Dispositions select the stimuli to which they respond, even though some stimulus is required for their arousal.

It readily admits the validity of all other established principles of growth. It places in proper perspective the origins of conduct by removing the fetish of the genetic method. Not that the historical view of behaviour is unimportant for a complete understanding of personality but so far as *motives* are concerned the cross-sectional dynamic analysis is more significant. Motives being always contemporary should be studied in their present structure. Failure to do so is probably the chief reason why psycho-analysis meets so many defeats, as do all other therapeutic schemes relying too exclusively upon uncovering the motives of early childhood.

It accounts for the force of delusions, shell shock, phobias,

and all manner of compulsive and maladaptive behaviour. They have acquired a strangle-hold in their own right.

It accounts adequately for socialised and civilised behaviour. Starting life as a completely selfish being, the child would indeed remain entirely wolfish and piggish throughout his days unless genuine transformations of motives took place. Motives being completely alterable, the dogma of Egoism turns out to be a shallow and superficial philosophy of behaviour, or else a useless redundancy.

It explains why a person often *becomes* what at first he merely *pretends* to be.

It explains the drive behind genius, hobbies, artistic and intellectual interests.

It is a declaration of independence for the psychology of personality. Functional autonomy relies upon the capacity of human beings to replenish their energies through a plurality of constantly changing systems of dynamic dispositions.

For Allport, the difficulty about McDougall's set channels of purpose is that they can never be discovered empirically. Two assumptions make them fatally elusive: (a) that "propensities are but loosely geared to goals," this contention making it possible always to interpret any case as fitting the formula; (b) the reliance upon maturation of purposes, another proposition unverifiable.

Allport believes that learning rather than inheritance is the leading category in the psychology of motivation. And he says Freud, Adler, Spearman, McDougall, Murray, Kretschmer, Thurstone, Guilford and others have produced nomothetic dimensions to which personalities are to be ordered. But consider the differences, and even the contradictions, between these dimensional schemes! Think too of the lists of 'primary motives' in text-books of psychology. I doubt that there is justification for Bertocci's statement that we know some of the 'inevitable components of human motivation.' Even where agreement seems to be reached—Bertocci suggests hunger, sex, fear, anger,—the biological capacities mentioned have nothing much to do with the personal level of conduct and they illuminate little if at all the concrete needs and specifiable desires of actual individuals.<sup>1</sup>

To Mr. P. A. Bertocci's objection, "Instincts alone can be the basic cause of culture and its similarity in the first place,"<sup>2</sup> Allport replies that the universal features in cultural practices all

<sup>1</sup> "Motivation in Personality," *Psychological Review*, 1940, 47, 538-539.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 501-532.



over the earth appear to be too few in number to argue from them to common instinctive causation. He thus revives for me a memory from 1917 when Sir Grafton Elliot Smith first instilled in my mind a doubt whether the postulated 'fundamental similarity of the human mind' could account for the widespread practice of mummification in different parts of the world, and began again the discussion concerning the diffusion of culture; one which most psychologists seem to have neglected.

Allport writes,

Within 2000 years of self-conscious psychologising no stencil to fit human desires has yet been found, because, I suspect, there is none to find. May it not be that the 'irreducible unlearned motives' of men are—excepting in early infancy—scientific will-o'-the wisps?"

I think that the problem of human 'instincts' is partly verbal, though the question cannot be settled by our deciding to lose interest in it merely on that account. There are many current misdescriptions of fact, particularly concerning behaviour in war and peace. These, acted upon, will inevitably have serious effects. The use by non-psychologists of terms relating to the human mind (and therefore psychological) raises the curious but serious problem of the duty of professional psychologists. They can at least point out instances where the description glaringly distorts the facts. It is impossible not to feel some sympathy with those who would leave 'instinct' to the non-psychologists.

'Drive' has a shorter and less variegated history. As defined by Allport, it seems to promise a useful career. He thinks that instinct becomes something else at a very early age in a person's life. Consequently he lays stress upon the individual and personal character of drive and avoids the illusive simplicity of words like aggressiveness, pugnacity and fear.

I should, however, like to know more about where the driving force of Allport's sentiments comes from. Can the 'instinctive' drive be withdrawn from and subsequently restored to a habit, as Cattell<sup>1</sup> suggests, just as money may be withdrawn from and replaced in a bank?

Finally, since Allport's theory challenges all forms of psycho-analysis and most developments of factor-analysis we await replies from users of these methods.

<sup>1</sup> B. Cattell, *General Psychology*, 1941, Harvard, Sci.-Art Publishers, Cambridge, Mass.

# SAADYA GAON: AN APPRECIATION OF HIS BIBLICAL EXEGESIS.<sup>1</sup>

By ERWIN I. J. ROSENTHAL, DR. PHIL.,

SPECIAL LECTURER IN SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES IN THE  
UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

## I.

SAADYA'S exegesis of the Old Testament, both in his Arabic translation of it and in his commentaries on several books which have survived, represents the first systematic attempt at setting out in coherent treatises its legal, ethical and theological teachings. To achieve this, Saadya has made extensive studies of Hebrew grammar and lexicography: he wanted to establish the plain meaning of Scripture. He became thus the founder of Hebrew philology among the Jews. Besides, as is to be expected from the head of the principal academy of traditional learning, he brought the traditional interpretation of the Bible fully to bear on his own investigation of the text. Being, moreover, steeped in the culture of his Islamic surroundings, he made full use of the secular knowledge of his age, which spread as the result of the renaissance of Greek science and Hellenistic philosophy, and applied the findings of reason to the text: especially if the literal meaning would be incompatible with reason, Saadya

<sup>1</sup> The reader may wish to consult the following works: H. Malter, *Saadia Gaon, his Life and Works*, Philadelphia, 1921, where a full Bibliography is given. For Saadya's Biblical exegesis in particular, W. Bacher, *Die Bibelepexese der jüdischen Religionsphilosophen des Mittelalters vor Maimuni*, Budapest, 1892, is very important. Cf. also H. Hirschfeld, "The Arabic portion of the Cairo Genizah at Cambridge," in *J.Q.R.*, XVII, 712 ff., and XIX, 137 ff., and B. Heller's study of Saadya's Version of "Proverbs," in *R.E.J.*, XXXVII, 72-85, 226-251. A volume of *Saadya Studies*, edited by the present writer, to be published by the Manchester University Press, is in the press. It will contain hitherto unpublished fragments of Saadya's *Commentary on Leviticus*, edited and described by J. Leveen, and an article by the present writer on *Saadya's Exegesis of the Book of Job*. The last-named article gives a detailed account of the exegetical method of Saadya. It cannot be repeated here. Saadya's "philosophical" work, *Book of Beliefs and Convictions*, which contains much material on the subject discussed in the present article, has not been drawn upon, nor his *Commentary on the Sefer Yesirah*.

would bring out the inner meaning of a word or passage. As a teacher he was determined to make his generation understand the lesson of the Bible in a language they spoke and understood : Arabic. Fierce opposition on the part of the Karaites, who rejected Jewish tradition and fought it by going back to the Bible which they closely examined, made a fresh authoritative interpretation of the Bible necessary. This interpretation was not only to vindicate the orthodox tradition but aimed at a revival of Rabbanite Judaism.<sup>1</sup> The message of the Bible as the eternal fundament of Judaism had to be interpreted afresh so as to answer the doubts and confusion caused not only by the Karaites, but also by adherents of philosophical schools as they were found among the Muslims. The battle between orthodoxy and enlightened philosophical free-thinkers was in full swing in Saadya's time : scepticism and confusion found their way also into the Jewish camp. The clear, unmistakable teachings of the Bible were to be once more the true guide to a full, moral life. The precepts of the Bible setting out a way of life with clear injunctions for the relations between man and man and man and his Creator were to be made accessible to every Jew : hence Saadya's life-long work on the Bible, including his great so-called philosophical *magnum opus*. Even in this work, the first systematic exposition of the basic ideas of Judaism, the theologian and teacher takes first place, only that Saadya employed the philosophical method and philosophical argument. This *Book of Beliefs and Convictions* is actually a primer of Theology *more philosophico*.

<sup>1</sup> Saadya contrasts at the end of *Prov. viii* the *believers in the (absolute) unity (of God) and the Rabbanites* with the *heretics and dissenters*, having especially the Karaites in mind. In his comment on *Prov. ix* he gives this definition of the Rabbanites : *they have revised the Bible, (have stated) how many chapters, verses and words it has, have divided it into parts and portions and counted the words . . . they then guarded the tradition, vested with them by the prophets of God concerning the (Divine) Law (Torah), the laws of inheritance, judgments, (things) permitted and forbidden and the other laws. . . .* A similar statement is contained in one of the Fragments published by Hirschfeld (*l.c.*) and translated by him in these words : *Now we Rabbanites are the first class of Israelites who derive their appellation from the prophets of God who follow their footsteps and preserve their tradition for future ages ; these sectarians, however, differ from each other. . . .* This is naturally in complete agreement with the Rabbis.



## II.

The most important and interesting feature in Saadya's exegesis is that he prefaces every book he comments on by a lengthy Introduction in which he expounds the lesson of the book, its principal idea, its structure and his own aim in explaining it. To this he adds some general remarks about the principles to be observed by the translator and commentator.<sup>1</sup> The actual comment is not just a gloss to every verse but—apart from linguistic notes on the meaning of words, their derivation and connotation in the context—an exposition of the meaning of a verse, a group of verses or a whole chapter. He traces the connexion of one chapter with another preceding or following one, and defines the contribution certain phrases or more extensive literary or logical units make to the basic idea of the book: e.g. the principle of the Justice of God in his dealings with man in *Job*, or the problem of acquiring knowledge in *Proverbs*. His comments are to the point, concise and lucid,<sup>2</sup> and no verse or phrase is too obscure not to receive a plausible explanation be it readily reconcilable with the wording or not. In making the distinction between the plain, literal exoteric meaning of a word (*zāhir*) and the inner, hidden, esoteric meaning (*bāṭin*)<sup>3</sup> Saadya

<sup>1</sup> See my paper on *Job*, l.c.

<sup>2</sup> Hirschfeld quotes in the just mentioned Fragment a statement which is symptomatic for Saadya's method: *I must first reproduce the explanation given us by the prophets . . . and recount the sum total of forbidden marriages mentioned in Bible and Tradition. This will be followed by those added or deducted by the innovators and to show their error.* It brings out clearly the dual purpose of Saadya's exegesis: to define the accepted Rabbanite *Halakāh* and to maintain tradition against the Karaites, at the same time refuting their interpretation as erroneous innovation.

<sup>3</sup> See my paper on *Job*, l.c. A good example is furnished in his comment on *Prov.* xxiv. 27. He first gives the literal interpretation and then explains the verse figuratively, bringing out the hidden, inner meaning: first man must satisfy the demands of nature (food, clothing, dwelling, etc.) in this world before he can reach the things of the world to come for this is so determined by Providence. The same applies to science where there is necessarily a preliminary science for the more advanced one as the *Greeks*, says Saadya, *call this introduction Isagoge to Logic, astronomy, geometry and medicine.* And then Saadya applies this same principle to the relation between the rational and the revealed laws: *the attachment of the servant (of God) to Sabbath, festivals, etc., is of no benefit to him unless preceded by (the practice of) the rational laws like right, justice, equity. . .*

expressly limits the latter, figurative explanation to passages the literal interpretation of which would run counter to Reason and established Tradition. Thus he concludes his Introduction to his version of the Pentateuch with the statement that it is *a simple, explanatory translation (tafsīr) of the text of the Torah, written with the knowledge of reason ('aql) and tradition (naql)*. Another feature of his commentaries is that Saadya often digresses into the discussion of philosophical or theological questions in little excursuses wherein he employs the means of contrast in order to drive home his point, to bring out the importance of an idea, e.g. Nature versus Reason (Introduction to his version of *Proverbs*),<sup>1</sup> or the telling contrast between transient riches and durable wisdom and knowledge (comment on *Prov.* iii. 18),<sup>2</sup> or the contrast between God's wisdom and that of man on the Four Elements (comment on *Prov.* xxx. 3). Another characteristic feature of Saadya's explanation is that he aims in his definitions of the nature and meaning of basic ideas like *wisdom, instruction, knowledge* at completeness and clarity to the exclusion of all ambiguity and vagueness. He achieves this by analysing the various *aspects* of *Wisdom* in his comment on *Prov.* viii. 21 : here he enumerates eight constituent parts or modes of *hokmah*. In the beginning of his *Commentary* he distinguishes four *kinds* of *Wisdom*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Saadya's version of *Proverbs*, edit. H. Derenbourg, Paris, *Introd.*, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Saadya makes many comparisons, e.g. *whereas riches need a master to guard them, wisdom guards him who possesses it*. Or, *riches just gained perish, but the gain of wisdom is durable*. . . .

<sup>3</sup> Among the *eight* aspects are : counsel ; excellent discernment without which the power of the mighty is useless ; kings, their ministers and advisers need it for their administration ; judges and jurists for their decisions. It is equally essential for those who aspire to worldly gain and riches : for without it they know not justice nor equity in their commercial activities and trade becomes robbery. Of the four *kinds* of wisdom are *discernment (tamyīz, for : lēhēbin imrē binah)* ; the reception of learning taught (for : *laqāhat musar sekhel*). In another passage Saadya distinguishes twelve meanings of wisdom to be found in *Proverbs*, giving wisdom now a philosophical object (*observation, reflexion, deducing the particular from the general, etc.*), now a theological connotation (being contained in *stories of the end of the good and the wicked, or, in command and prohibition*). There are, moreover, distinctions between various kinds of knowledge : comprehension is defined as *the acquisition of knowledge by man's learning the principles and roots of the sciences from him who preceded him*. (Note the importance of tradition !)

Here is not the place to treat of Saadya's *Theory of Knowledge* in full.<sup>1</sup> Suffice it to refer to his view that knowledge has three roots: sense-perception, reason or rational perception, and necessary logical deduction. This type of knowledge is, so-to-speak, *secular* knowledge of the philosopher. It is contrasted with the knowledge of the *religious* thinkers who, as members of the *community of the believers in the* (absolute) *unity* (of God), supplement the three roots or constituent elements by a fourth: *true* (and trustworthy) *tradition* contained in the *Torah* and the *Books of Prophecy*. Saadya insists on the complementary unity of Reason, *Torah* as the book of Divine Instruction, and Tradition. This tradition (*khabr*, *naql* or *ātār*) contains not only the three elements just mentioned which could not guarantee the character of absolute proof as man's experience and reason is imperfect. It possesses the additional quality of truth because it derives from the prophets who were worthy to receive divine instruction by revelation. This axiom of the revealed truth stands at the beginning of mediæval philosophical speculation and forms its heart and centre. In this sense must we understand Saadya's statement in his *Introduction* to his version of the *Pentateuch* that God has given man two other proofs—in addition to the *Torah* and the Prophets—Reason which precedes it and Tradition which follows it. *With the help of the argument from reason man realises that God who created everything out of nothing is One, Eternal and Unique, free from Matter, possessed of Free Will and* (absolutely) *Just*. Tradition confirms this by furnishing the knowledge

For a full account cf. *Introd.*, pp. 6 ff. This mixture of philosophical and theological speculation is characteristic of Saadya, who is primarily a theologian. The interpretation of such passages is made difficult by the fact that terms like *ḥikmatun*, *ma'rifatun*, *'ilmun* mean not necessarily the same thing in different contexts. Theological concepts, on the other hand, are unequivocal. In *Proverbs*, as in *Job*, the same problems are discussed as in Saadya's philosophical work. Yet, whereas the argument is philosophical in the *Book of Beliefs*, it is predominantly theological in *Job* and mixed in *Proverbs*, with a predominance of philosophical excursions.

<sup>1</sup> See, on this point especially, Bacher, *l.c.*; Guttmann, *Die Religionsphilosophie des Saadja*, Göttingen, 1882; Ventura, *La philosophie de Saadia Gaon*, Paris, 1934; S. Rawidowicz, "The Idea of the Purification of God," in *Saadya Studies*, *l.c.* I follow Bacher, who cites the *Book of Beliefs*, supplemented by passages in the Biblical commentaries of Saadya. Bacher deals with the great influence Saadya has exerted on Bahya on pp. 59 f.



derived from the tradition of the prophets who came after the *Torah*<sup>1</sup> and were, in their wisdom and experience of human life, responsible for the traditional laws which are not in conflict with Reason. The antagonist of Reason is *not* Revelation but Nature. Saadya, in his *Introduction* to his version of *Proverbs*, says that *God has written, through Solomon, a book* (i.e. *Proverbs*) to instruct man who needs guidance (*tadbir*) in these matters of Reason *versus* Nature. *If man's Reason rules over his nature he is truly human, if it is the other way round, his actions are like that of beasts. Though Nature comes first in the building up and in disposition, it is Reason which decrees what to do and then man does it ; if it decides something should be left, then man does not do it.*

We owe to Saadya the distinction of the Commandments of the Bible : those demanded by Reason and those commanded by God through Revelation. This classification has been accepted by subsequent Jewish thinkers until Maimonides attacked it as emanating from the *Mutaḳallimun*, the Muslim dialectic theologians. *Nature*, says Saadya in the same passage from which we have just quoted, *is not prone to provide knowledge in religious matters*, i.e. in these two groups of commandments. By the *rational laws* Saadya means *the command to do everything which is approved by Reason, like Righteousness, Truth, Justice, Equity, Good Deeds and the like, and to prohibit everything of which Reason disapproves, like lie and falsehood, theft, immorality and the like.* By the *Commandments of Revelation* he means *the laws which the prophets have announced ; purity, sacrifices, Sabbath, Festivals, etc.*<sup>2</sup> *Nature tries to keep man off these things as it is tiring and*

<sup>1</sup> Saadya naturally adheres to the traditional view that the Rabbis were the successors of the prophets.

<sup>2</sup> In his comment on *Prov.* xxix. 18 f. Saadya admonishes his readers to *listen to what God announced through his prophets on matters of Sabbath, Festivals, Fasts, purity and inheritance*—the laws of inheritance, on which Saadya has written a whole treatise, still extant and published in the *Œuvres complètes*, are very frequently mentioned as of great importance, and always in connexion with the other laws of revelation. Saadya, in this comment, stresses the unity and connexion between the two groups of laws : *it is necessary that the announced (ḳabariyya for the usual samā'iyya) laws precede the logical laws (mantiqiyya for the usual 'aqliyya) : justice, right, equity, and love thy neighbour as thyself.* The last commandment is not included in the other references elsewhere to the rational laws. Moreover, the order of the two groups of laws is reversed here,

*troublesome to learn by study and investigation, etc. It belongs to the functions of Reason to direct man's attention to pushing back and silencing Nature so that he (can) seek wisdom. If Nature tempts man to do evil, Reason warns him of the result of such action : grief, evil and misfortune in this world and punishment and evil in the world to come.*<sup>1</sup> *Hokmah* is here understood in the traditional sense of study (of the all-embracing Torah in the wider sense) in order to do good and shun evil.

### III.

It is clear that Saadya as a religious teacher was concerned with the right behaviour of man as a religious person, first and foremost. Yet, as a son of his age, he was not satisfied with a blind faith and a mechanical observance of the commandments. The supremacy of Reason over Nature was to be secured only by constant striving : it alone guaranteed man *happiness*. This happiness man cannot reach by his own exertions, by employing his rational faculty unaided : it is possible only through a study of the *Torah*, the aim of which is to make the servants (of God) entirely happy ; for the *Torah* forms a collection of the three kinds (of instruction) and is therefore of utmost perfection and ultimate authority. God tells his servants to do justly and to refrain from evil.<sup>2</sup> Intelligent faith and conscious, willing observance were to be achieved only by study, and study requires instruction (*ta'dib*). Saadya distinguishes three kinds of instruction : The first is

cf. p. 170, n. 3. Precedence of the rational over the revealed laws in time seems to be implied in Saadya's interpretation of "*the fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge*" : *it is not meant that the fear precedes knowledge for it would be absurd that there should be fear without knowledge.* Precedence is temporal, not qualitative.

In the Fragment quoted on p. 169, n. 1, and p. 170, n. 2, Saadya states (Hirschfeld, l.c., p. 721) that the prophets are necessary not only to explain the practice of traditional regulations, but also that of the rational laws. The supremacy of Revelation could not be expressed more clearly and convincingly. We agree with M. Lambert's statement in his Introduction to his edition of Saadya's *Commentary on the Sefer Yesirah* that Saadya "*reste tout à fait indépendant de cette philosophie grecque qu'il connaît si bien. Bien supérieur en cela à Maimonide. . . . Saadya reste toujours fidèle à l'esprit du judaïsme.*" Yet, we would qualify the reference to Maimonides who is, we believe, no less true to the spirit of Judaism than Saadya.

<sup>1</sup> See *Intro.*, pp. 3 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

simple command and prohibition: *do this and refrain from that*. The pupil is not informed of the consequences connected with command and prohibition. The second method consists in telling the pupil that he has the choice between reward for obeying and punishment for disobeying command and prohibition. *This is stronger than the first for he can imagine the happiness or misfortune he will meet with in every deed he chooses*. The third kind consists in adding to the preceding way *the story of those people who obey the commandments, for their reward and their happiness are the best, and the story of those people who injure themselves with their disobedience and are punished and unhappy. This way is stronger than the two first ones, for experience and test come to him who obeys . . . and it takes for him the place of a testimony*.<sup>1</sup> One must always learn. Unlike the craftsman who does the same amount of work every day, the student learns little in the first year, twice as much in the second, etc. . . . therefore the seeker after wisdom must needs be patient . . . likewise prayer and good deeds demand zeal and patience (comment on Prov. viii. 36).<sup>2</sup> This seeker is warned by Saadya not to inquire into two things: Creation (*'ilmu-l-ibdā'i*) and Revelation (*wal-ikhtirā'i*). Both these terms stand undoubtedly for the Hebrew *ma'aseh b'ērshit u(ma'aseh) merkabah* of the Rabbis. They are for God, not for man. But the wise say to the seeker: *inquire into God's commandments and prohibitions and into what your fathers have handed down*. In other words, wisdom is interpreted as the contents of both, the written and the oral *Torah*. Saadya called *Proverbs* the *Book of the Seeker after Wisdom*, for it gives him *advice how to obtain it*.<sup>3</sup>

#### IV.

In each *Introduction* we find, too, a short description of the contents of the book, its difficulties, and consequently Saadya's special attention is focussed on clearing up those difficulties. Thus, he singles out for special treatment the story of Satan,

<sup>1</sup> See *Introd.*, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also comment on xix. 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Introd.*, p. 11. Cf. also my paper on *Job*, how Saadya justifies the title of *Theodicy* there.



who he is, what he says and how he behaves, for he finds that all these points cause considerable difficulty to the reader of *Job*. Next, he points to the sufferings of Job although he was *perfect and upright*, as causing doubt and confusion. Likewise difficult is the understanding of the sequence of speech and answer as between Job, his friends and Elihu : how the discussion progresses between them, whether and how they understood each other and in what their opposition to each other consisted. Saadya answers all these doubts and difficulties with the help of metaphor, rational interpretation, another passage in *Job* or from another book of Scripture, or with the help of true prophetic tradition. The similes of *Proverbs* serve the same object of instruction : *this is the way how Reason brings near to Nature what is* (originally) *alien to it*. This is done by four devices : (1) simile (Hebrew : *mashal*) ; (2) interpretation of similes (Hebrew : *mēlišah*) ; (3) similes which God has coined through his prophets (Hebrew : *dibrē ḥakhamim*) ; (4) parables which God has coined as another (metaphorical) rendering of a simile and its interpretation (Hebrew : *ḥidot*). As such parables or similes, Saadya conceives the proverbs : hence he often explains them by way of comparison. Like a father chastises his son for his benefit, so God punishes his servant in justice.<sup>1</sup> To vi. 23 *the commandment is a lamp and the law is light*. Saadya stresses the contrast rather than the comparison : *the lamp goes out quickly but the light of the sun does not vanish except together with the world ; likewise the father perishes, but not the Torah*. And if the lamp is for one's house in particular, so is the father for his son alone, whereas the light is for the whole of creation, just as the Torah is for them all (i.e. created beings). Commenting on xxv. 5 Saadya calls the king one of the *rochers de bronze* (lit. columns) of the world. He cannot establish his rule except through justice and equity in his political and legal administration, therefore he must remove all unjust persons from his presence. . . . On xxix. 12 Saadya's comment is that *the ruler must be just and straight more than any other man, for his bad example corrupts his princes, the princes those who are subordinate to them, until the whole nation is*

<sup>1</sup> See comment on *Prov.* iii. 11 f. God is just, not unjust, the theme of *Job*. Cf. also the example quoted on p. 171, n. 2.

*bad*.<sup>1</sup> With reference to xxviii. 2 Saadya declares himself in favour of the monarchy: *it stands to reason that the perfect government is only one that is in the hands of one man, but the government in a democracy cannot be perfect because of their differences and mutual opposition*. It is interesting to find here an echo of Plato's *Politeia* and the influence of the absolutistic rule of the contemporary Abbasid caliphs.

Mention must at least be made of frequent references to the Aramaic of the Targum in his linguistic notes.<sup>2</sup>

## V.

A few remarks on how Saadya divided the *Book of Proverbs*, how he occasionally re-arranged the verses in a chapter, and on the order and disposition of the *Pentateuch* may conclude this short survey.

Saadya divides *Proverbs* into three parts: (i) chapters i-ix; (ii) chapters x-xxiv, bearing the heading: *similes and instructive sayings*; (iii) chapters xxv-xxxii.<sup>3</sup> As an example of re-arrangement of verses may be quoted chapter ix. Saadya translates vv. 1-9, then follow vv. 13-18, then he brings a comment and ends up with the translation of vv. 10-12.

As to the order and disposition of the *Pentateuch*, Saadya thinks that *fittingly the commandments should occupy first place, followed by the consequences* (reward and punishment for obedience and disobedience respectively) *and then the stories* (i.e. history). But, he goes on, *as the Torah was not sent down by God in his wisdom until men were complete in numbers, God had to make known to them the substance of past history so that men imitated what was praiseworthy in the actions of their predecessors . . . and kept away from what was blameworthy*. . . . We have here an early mediæval example of the pragmatic conception of history.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also v. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. comment on xxiii. 2 and instances quoted in my paper on *Job*. Other linguistic comments are found in his notes on i. 18, 23; vi. 33 and *passim*, also frequently in *Job* and *Isaiah*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. subdivisions in modern critical commentaries, e.g. W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Book of Proverbs*, in the *Westminster Commentaries*, who finds *ten* different collections incorporated in the book (*Intro.*, xii. ff.).

Saadya's translation of the Bible became the authoritative Bible of the Arabic-speaking Jews. His comments made a deep impression on subsequent commentators of the Bible and exerted a lasting influence which was equally fruitful whether they were accepted or rejected. His method of prefacing general introductions with descriptions of the contents, the form and the meaning and message of the books of the Bible as well as with a statement on and an enumeration of their difficulties was not fully taken up—despite Nachmanides and Gersonides—until Mediæval Jewish exegesis found its last great exponent in Don Isaac Abravanel.<sup>1</sup>

These few pages, we hope, have shown that at the beginning of Jewish Biblical exegesis there stands a pioneer of outstanding ability who can hold his own against all successors in this and in other fields of Jewish traditional learning.

<sup>1</sup> See my article on Abravanel in this BULLETIN, Oct. 1937, pp. 445-478.



# AN ANGLO-NORMAN RETURN TO THE INQUEST OF SHERIFFS.

By HELEN SUGGETT, B.Litt.

SINCE I published in this BULLETIN<sup>1</sup> a twelfth-century Anglo-Norman deed with a commentary, comparison with the Latin returns to the Inquest of Sheriffs<sup>2</sup> has shown conclusively that it also must be a return to the Inquest. The use of French for this purpose has not hitherto been suspected. The discovery is not only of importance in itself, but it has this further interest that it puts the date of the deed back to 1170, much earlier than any surviving original French document of the kind either on the Continent or in this country.

To save reference to my previous article, it will be convenient to reprint the Anglo-Norman return in full :

Les homes Manser de Dommartin dunerent treies mars a duos oscet,<sup>3</sup> a l'un un marc al altre duas, et a lur seinur en aïue li unt dunet xv mars pur le encumbrement de sun fiht que il fist chevalyr, pur le castel de Leiland que il out en garde v marcas, e pur fin de plejes x sl' et vi d', et icesit li unt dunet en bone volentet cum a lur seinur.

We do not, of course, find any Latin return exactly parallel, for the returns were not framed on a uniform plan. There are several which begin 'Homines . . . dederunt',<sup>4</sup> and several which say that gifts were made 'for armies', the nearest in phrasing being the return of Robert fitz Morvant, who gave his lord 7s. 9d. 'ad duos exercitus de Wales'.<sup>5</sup> The gift of fifteen marks by the men of Manasser de Dammartin for the accoutrement of his son when he was knighted is paralleled by the ten marks given by the men of Somerton to Avelina de Ria 'ad faciendum filium suum militem',<sup>6</sup> and there are several similar gifts.<sup>7</sup> The payment for the castle of Leyland seems to have

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, xxiv. 168-172.

<sup>2</sup> *The Red Book of the Exchequer* (ed. Hubert Hall), ii. cclxvii-cclxxxi.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. armies.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 1, 4-7, 17, 18, 27, 39, 43, 45, 48, 54, 58.

<sup>5</sup> No. 40 : cf. nos. 11, 12, 17, 18. My suggestion that the payments to Manasser de Dammartin were connected with scutages recorded in 1162 and 1172 (*ante*, xxiv. 171) must be withdrawn.

<sup>6</sup> No. 35.

<sup>7</sup> Nos. 20-22, 24, 27, 29.

only one counterpart in the Latin returns, and that is a payment by William de Curci's men of Little Saxham 'ad castellum firmandum de Oreford'.<sup>1</sup> The statement that Manasser's men have made their payments 'en bone volentet' is exactly what many Latin returns say, 'ex bona voluntate',<sup>2</sup> which is the reply to the question whether the money was taken 'per iudicium vel sine iudicio'.

As I have already shown, the return must relate to Suffolk. This is clear from the reference to Leyland castle, which had formerly belonged to Henry of Essex. And the men of Manasser de Dammartin must be of Mendlesham, where he held a knight's fee.<sup>3</sup> Nearly all the returns printed by Dr. Hall relate to Norfolk and Suffolk,<sup>4</sup> and the Anglo-Norman return doubtless owes its survival to the same accident that resulted in the preservation of so many from those counties. Like most of the Latin returns, this return is a reply to the third article of the Inquest,<sup>5</sup> which was devised to ascertain what had been taken by lords in the years 1166-1170 from hundreds, townships and individual men. Though the point seems not to have been remarked, the enquiries under this head were apparently not made directly by the commissioners—the *barones errantes* of the introductory paragraph of the Inquest—but by the sheriffs and their bailiffs, to whom the last article of the Inquest appears to assign the duty of making enquiries 'per terras baronum'.<sup>6</sup> This may account for the use of French in some returns and for

<sup>1</sup> No. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 1-6, 12, 13, 32, 39, 45.

<sup>3</sup> *Ante*, xxiv. 171.

<sup>4</sup> No. 59, which relates to castle guard at Rockingham, Northamptonshire, is an exception. A fragment of a different kind, relating to the borough of Worcester, has been printed by Professor Tait (*English Historical Review*, xxxix. 80-83): but this is the only other exception which has yet come to light.

<sup>5</sup> A few relate to other articles. As Dr. J. H. Round pointed out, nos. 55 and 56 are returns to art. 4 (*Commune of London*, pp. 128-129): they are in a distinctive form. No. 54 seems to reply to art. 3, but also to arts. 1 and 7. Some others also appear anomalous. My numbering of the articles is that of the 9th edition of Stubbs, *Select Charters*, which differs from that of earlier editions.

<sup>6</sup> I may note that Manasser de Dammartin was himself one of the *barones errantes*, not however in East Anglia, but on the circuit which included Kent, where he also held lands (Gervase of Canterbury, *Historical Works* (Rolls Series), i. 216). While this fact has no bearing upon the return for Mendlesham, it has to be borne in mind in considering the general arrangements for the Inquest: obviously it would have been improper for local landowners (of whom there

the illiterate Latin of others. The return which tells the commissioners that

xv dies ante Purificationem Sancte Marie proxima abebit iiij anhos quod servientes Comitis de Harundellia ceperunt cccv oves Mahei de Candos et duxerunt donec at Snetesham. . . .

and which at one point drops into French, was, however, written by (or for) the complainant, who ends 'Sicut nil comiti debui'.<sup>1</sup> No other returns to the third article<sup>2</sup> give such an evident indication that they were rendered by the complainants, and they may well have been the work of the sheriffs' clerks.

must have been a good proportion on the several commissions) to conduct enquiries among their own tenants, though they were fitted to enquire into the irregularities of the king's ministers.

<sup>1</sup>No. 8. The complainant is Matthew of Chandos, a tenant of Hanelald of Bidon (cf. no. 21), whose chief lord was the earl of Arundel. Hanelald had failed to perform the service due to the earl, whose bailiffs had thereupon distrained upon Matthew's sheep. Matthew admits that his complaint is against Hanelald. These circumstances are explained in a note added to the return, which, Dr. Hall remarks, 'is in another and apparently an official hand'. Matthew says that he paid 2s. to the earl's bailiffs (presumably the amount due from Hanelald to the earl) to have his sheep, or such as survived, delivered up to him: or, as he expresses it, 'ij s. illis servientibus de livreisum'.

<sup>2</sup>No. 59, the return relating to Rockingham Castle, is expressed in the first person, but it is not clear under which article this falls.



# HUMAN RECORDS : A SURVEY OF THEIR HISTORY FROM THE BEGINNING.

FORM AND MATERIALS.

By THE EDITOR.

FOR purposes of recording events and of communicating ideas man naturally makes use of the materials which are most readily obtainable and which he regards as most suitable.

In the course of the present survey we shall find that there have been times when the material first selected no longer served its purpose, or that the supply of it having failed it became necessary to find or to invent a substitute.

Primeval man was a hunter and his earliest attempts to record his observations and ideas are to be found in the rock-shelters or caves which he selected in sheltered situations to serve as his habitation, and of which quite a number have been discovered.

These primitive attempts at record took the form of drawings or scratchings, sometimes painted, at other times engraved or incised by means of a pointed flint flake or a sharpened bone upon the roof or the walls of the dwelling, of which numerous examples have been discovered in caves, which have now become famous, in France, Italy, Spain, and other parts of our own continent, as well as in Asia, Africa, Australia, and America. Indeed, wherever traces of primitive settlement are found there almost invariably are to be found survivals of these early pictorial records. Pieces of smooth stone or of bone, incised in the same way, have also been found in many of these cave-dwellings.

These pictures may not be records in the sense that we often use the term, but they were pictures of what the artist had seen, of the animal that he hunted and afterwards ate, or of incidents that had come under his observation in the course of his hunting expeditions. They may be intended to commemorate events, or they may possess some symbolic interpretation ; we can only speculate.

The earliest written records were almost purely monumental, and for that reason only the most durable materials were at first employed, such as stone, clay and wood. These were ready at hand and needed not to be invented, only to be quarried, smoothed or otherwise made ready for the chisel, or other appropriate writing implement.

Later, as the need was felt, other and more portable materials were brought into use, such as bark, leaves of trees, papyrus, skins of animals, linen, silk, bone, ivory, potsherds, metals, and paper.

Of the use of stone we have abundant proof in the ancient  
STONE. monuments of the Babylonians, Assyrians, Egyptians, Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, and Chinese, which have defied the ravages of time, and have preserved for us valuable records of the far distant ages of the past.

For purposes of permanent record nothing could be better adapted to the purpose than slabs or obelisks of granite, diorite, marble, and other of the harder stones. Even in modern times the use of stone for perpetuating the remembrance of persons and events is sufficiently attested.

One of the most famous of these stone documents is the "Code Hammurabi," a code of laws promulgated by Hammurabi, King of Babylon, and set up at the temple E-barra of Shamash, at Sippar, about 2200 B.C. It is a great stele of black diorite, more than seven feet in height, which was discovered at Susa as recently as 1902, and is now (or was) preserved in the Louvre. It is estimated to have contained originally about eight thousand words in cuneiform script.

Another important document is the inscription of the Persian King Darius Hystaspes, which was cut, about 518 B.C., on the face of a precipitous rock at Behistun, which rises to a height of about 1800 feet, where the inscription is found at a height of 500 feet above the level of the plain, which is on the main caravan route between Baghdad and Teheran, the great highway between Persia and Babylonia, along which all the caravans had to pass. At the foot of the spur of the mountains are springs, and the passers-by rested here with their animals and refreshed themselves. It was regarded as a sacred place by reason of the

springs. The inscription, which contains an account of the genealogy and triumphs of Darius, who died in 485 B.C., is in three languages: Persian, Babylonian, and Susian or Elamite, the decipherment of which, by Sir Henry Rawlinson, in 1852, furnished the clue to the cuneiform inscriptions which had defied all attempts at interpretation for something like two thousand years.

Yet another equally important document is a slab of basalt, known as "The Rosetta Stone," bearing an inscription also in three languages or scripts: Egyptian Hieroglyphic, Demotic, and Greek, in the form of a decree of the Egyptian priests assembled at Memphis conferring divine honours on Ptolemy V, Epiphanes, King of Egypt, which is dated 195 B.C. It was found by the French in 1795 at the Rosetta Mouth of the Nile, passed into the hands of the British under the Treaty of Alexandria, and was deposited in the British Museum in 1802. As the result of the decipherment of this document knowledge of the long lost Egyptian Hieroglyphic script was regained, and the history of Egypt which had been a closed book for many centuries was reopened.

The Phœnician example is a slab of black basalt known as "The Moabite Stone," which is (or was) preserved in the Louvre. It bears the oldest extant Moabitic-Phœnician inscription of about 850 B.C., in which Mesha, King of Moab, commemorates his victories over Israel, and is of great value for the history of Semitic writing.

China had what are known as stone libraries in the second century A.D. The Emperor Lin-ti, of the Han Dynasty, A.D. 172, commanded the five Confucian classics to be inscribed on stone and placed in front of the National College of Higher Learning for the training of men capable of filling administrative offices. A second set was executed and set up in 240 A.D., a third in 261, a fourth in 331, a fifth in 833, a sixth in 837, a seventh in 1058, and the latest in 1791. Three such libraries survive in Sian, Peking, and Chefou. Sian, which is 600 miles up the Yellow River, has a forest of tablets. The origin of the stone library was to guard against such a whim as that of Tsin-Shih-Hwang, the builder of the Great Wall, who, in



213 B.C., was persuaded to suppress literary pursuits by ordering all books to be delivered up and publicly burnt on penalty of death.

The more precious stones, such as jade, rock crystal, cornelian, lapis-lazuli, amethyst, agate, and jasper, were employed by the Sumerians, Babylonians, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans for seals or stamps with which to impress soft substances such as clay and wax with designs or characters. These were cut in intaglio by expert engravers in various forms, either on their base or around their circumference, and consist of an ornamental device or some brief inscription. Some are cylindrical in shape like a miniature garden roller, so that when rolled over the clay or wax they leave an impression in relief. Jade was the material employed for this purpose by the Chinese.

Clay was the most common material with the Sumerians, Babylonians, and Assyrians. Excavations that have

CLAY. been carried out in Mesopotamia during the latter half of last century, and which are still being conducted at Ur, Kish, and other sites, have brought to light a vast literature impressed on tablets or bricks of clay varying in shape and size from an inch or less to several feet, some of which can hardly be later than 3500 B.C. Some documents, such as proclamations, are in cylindrical form in the shape of barrel-shaped cones, and some have been discovered in the shape of a nail with an inscription upon the head of the nail or around its shank. In the Assyrian examples, consecutive series of tablets have been recovered, in which, in one case twelve tablets, and in another seven, have been linked together by means of catchwords and embodying consecutive stories of the Creation and the Deluge.

The first important discovery of these tablets was made by Sir Henry Layard in 1852, when, in the course of excavations for the British Museum, he found two small chambers filled with inscribed tablets of baked clay in the royal palace of Assurbani-pal, King of Assyria (669-626 B.C.), within the city of Nineveh. From this library and that of the Temple of Nebo, also at Nineveh, some twenty thousand tablets and fragments of tablets were recovered and deposited in the British Museum, and have constituted the foundation of Assyriological study.

The most sensational part of this discovery was the Babylonian narratives of the Creation and the Deluge, which throw light on the early books of the Bible.

The clay was worked up into these various shapes, and whilst still in its plastic state had characters impressed upon it, at first of a semi-picture character and later composed of a number of little wedge-shaped radicals in a variety of combinations. The less important documents, such as memoranda, letters of ordinary importance, and accounts were simply dried in the sun, whilst more important documents, such as proclamations, dedications, and memorial tablets were fired in a kiln, or baked in an oven heated by fire. The shape of the characters employed has given to this form of writing its name of *cuneiform*, a term derived from the Latin *cuneus* = a wedge, hence it is writing composed of wedge-shaped characters, or rather characters built up of wedge-shaped radicals. The engraved and sculptured obelisks and slabs of stone, existed side by side with the tablets and cylinders.

In the Rylands Library is a clay brick measuring about a foot square, from the <sup>1</sup> Temple of the Sun-god at Sippar, some forty miles from Babylon, which was rebuilt by Nebuchadrezzar, a ruler distinguished even among Babylonians, for his piety (605-562 B.C.).

On the face of the brick is a prayer of dedication in the character of the period, the translation of which is as follows :

“Nebuchadrezzar, King of Babylon, the beautifier of E-Sagila and E-Zida, son of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon, am I.

“E-barra, Temple of Shamash, which is in Sippar, have I built anew for Shamash, the prolonger of my days, Shamash, great Lord, be pleased to regard my deeds with favour, and bestow on me in gift a life of many days, enjoyment of strength, stability of throne, length of reign. Accept graciously my uplifted hands. According to thy supreme command, which changes not, may the achievement of my handiwork endure forever, my posterity retain dominion and be firmly planted in the land. When I lift up my hand to thee O Lord Shamash, may my path open to the destruction of my enemies. Shamash, do thou and thy mighty weapons, which none can stand against, go at my side to overthrow my foes. As the bricks of E-barra are firmly laid for ever, so may my years be prolonged for ages.”

<sup>1</sup> See page 183, Code Hammurabi.

In ancient times, as to-day, a vacant wall was held to be a very convenient place upon which to present appeals to the public, or to scribble nonsense. Wall spaces were also used from the earliest times for the purpose of chronicling events. As early as 1500 B.C. at Karnac, in the great palace temple of the Pharaohs, erected by the father of the Great Ramses, the walls, roof, pillars, in fact every part of the building that was exposed to the eye was covered with pictorial chronicles of the mighty stories of Egypt from the obscure times of old, of many of which we have no other record.

At a later period we have the *graffiti* or wall scribblings at Pompeii, which hold such an important place in the history of early Latin palæography; and the wall paintings of the Catacombs of Rome, said to contain something like six million tombs, the earliest of which may be dated about A.D. 111. These paintings depict for us very graphically many scenes connected with the early rites of the Christians of the first centuries of the Christian era.

The generally accepted derivation of the term "book," which is Scandinavian or Teutonic, makes the tree the parent of the book, and refers the word, which in Anglo-Saxon is *boc*, in German *Buch*, in Dutch *boek*, to the time when staves and slabs of wood cut from the beech tree were employed to receive written records or calculations. The word for beech tree in all the languages referred to is but a slight modification of the word used for book, and analogy seems to support the derivation.

As we proceed we shall find that every portion of the tree has been employed for purposes of record in one form or another. Not only has the trunk furnished the boards for the tablets which must now engage our attention, but the bark and the leaves of the tree have been used also as writing materials.

The term *codex* which is employed to describe the modern form of book, composed of folded sheets of vellum or paper, is derived from the earlier Latin form, *caudex*, meaning a trunk or stem of a tree, which takes us back to the time referred to above when the sawn board or plank section of a tree trunk was employed.



Single tablets were used in Egypt as mummy labels, and in Greece as early as the fifth century B.C. for such purposes as the keeping of accounts, and the writing of models for school-boys to copy. These tablets were of plain wood, the surface of which had been simply smoothed and whitened with chalk, or had a thin coating of gypsum or glaze applied to it. The writing was inscribed with charcoal or charcoal-ink. The advantage of this form of tablet was that the writing could be easily removed by sponging or by rubbing with pumice stone.

A passage in Homer (*Iliad*, vi. 169) is presumed to refer to a wooden diptych, in which case it would be the earliest mention of writing in Greek literature. In the inventory of expenses of the rebuilding of the Erechtheum at Athens in 407 B.C., the price of two boards on which the rough accounts were first entered is set down at two drachmas, i.e. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. each, and a second entry of four boards at the same price occurs. Aristotle (*Aθ. πολ.*, 67, 68) records that in the fourth century B.C. public notices were inscribed on whitened boards.

These plain wooden tablets gradually developed into the more usual form, which they took in the Greek and Roman world, first into a surface dug out or sunken to the depth of about the sixteenth of an inch, with a protecting rim around, very much like the semi-modern school slate. Into this surface was run first dampened sand, and later, black or red wax. The kindergarten sand tray is not, therefore, a modern invention but may be safely assigned to the first century of our era.

From the single tablet was evolved the set of tablets consisting at first of two and later of several hinged together by means of cords or rings passed through holes pierced in their margins, in the manner of the modern loose-leaf diary, note-book, and ledger, with which we have become so familiar. These tablets were often carried on the person, and were used for notes and correspondence, and also for consular dispatches. They were usually of box-wood, but examples in ivory have come down to us, such as the diptych of the Roman consul Areobindus, of the fifth century A.D., which is preserved in the Rylands Library. The multiple tablet was known as a *codex*. They also came to be known according to the number of leaves of which

they were composed, as: δίπτυχα, τρίπτυχα, or πολύπτυχα, from Πτύχη = a fold. Amongst other terms employed by the Greeks to describe these tablets was γραμματεῖον, from γραμμα = a letter or written character. In Latin they were referred to as *ceræ*, *tabellæ*, and *pugillares*. The reason for the first two examples is quite obvious, but it may be well to explain that the third means "something that can be held in the hand." It is derived from *pugil*, which originally meant handful or fist, and later "one who fights with his fists."

The purpose of the protecting rim to which reference has been made was that two tablets might be placed together, face to face, without danger of rubbing or obliterating the writing on the wax.

Representations of these folded tablets occur frequently both in Greek and in Roman art, and allusions to them are met with in not a few of the classical writers such as Homer, Herodotus, Lucian, Seneca, Gaius, Martial, Plautus, Cicero, St. Augustine, and others too numerous to mention. Ovid describes how the writing surface may be renewed when the written matter is no longer wanted.

On Greek vases of the fifth and sixth centuries tablets are represented in the hands of the Goddess Athena, and other persons. They are also to be seen hanging from the wall by slings or handles. St. Augustine refers to his tablets as being of ivory. Some of these tablets must have been very heavy, for in Plautus (*Bac.*, 3. 3. 38) a schoolboy of seven years is represented as breaking his master's head with his table-book.

One Greek example in the British Museum, which is composed of six leaves, has inscribed upon it, probably by some schoolboy of the third century, grammatical and other notes in Greek, and a rough drawing which may be meant as a caricature of the master. The most perfect example, also preserved in the British Museum, possibly of the third century B.C., measuring 9 inches by 7, is composed of seven leaves, coated on both sides with wax, whilst the two covers were waxed on the inner side. In one of the covers is a groove for holding the writing implements.

These tablets continued in use for certain purposes throughout the Middle Ages down to the sixteenth century, and even later in countries of Western Europe. Many of the principal churches, especially in Italy, possessed one or more diptychs, upon which were inscribed the names of all those who had in any way deserved well of the Church. These names were read out by the Deacon, during the celebration of the Mass, and the congregation were requested or "bid" to pray for the repose of their souls. Here we have the origin of the "bidding prayer," which still survives at Oxford and Cambridge and is taken immediately before the University sermon. The practice has been adopted by certain of the younger universities, as in Manchester for example.

Then there is the "horn book" or "battledore" as it is sometimes called on account of its shape, which was in common use as late as the seventeenth century. This, without doubt, was a survival of the wooden tablet. It was a wooden board, rather smaller than an ordinary school slate, having a long or short handle at bottom. On this board was fixed a sheet of vellum or paper covered with written or printed texts of the alphabet, the creed, the pater noster, and other simple forms of words, and numerals. Over this sheet was nailed or fastened by means of a metal frame a thin sheet of transparent horn, the object of which was to preserve the written or printed matter from the sticky fingers of the small fry. Such primers were sometimes engraved on ivory or silver, and the wooden ones were covered with leather, no doubt for the use of children of high estate.

Indeed, wood was used wherever wood was obtainable. In China wood was used before the invention of paper in A.D. 105, and many thousands of slips of wood inscribed with Chinese characters have been found by Sir Aurel Stein, many of which may be seen in the British Museum.

It is quite possible that before men thought of making use of sawn boards the leaves and the bark of trees were  
LEAVES. utilised, and it is not improbable that in a primitive state of society leaves of plants and trees, strong enough for the purpose, would be adopted as a ready-made material provided by nature for purposes of record.



In India and the Far East the leaves of the palm tree have been in use for many centuries, and continue to be employed as a writing material. The Cingalese prefer the leaves of the talipot tree, on account of their superior breadth and thickness. The leaves of this tree are of immense size, and it is possible to cut strips of a foot to a foot and a half in length and two inches in breadth from each of the two halves of the leaf. The leaves are first dried, then boiled, again dried, then smoothed with stones or shells and cut to an oblong shape as described above. The Burmese also wrote on very fine white palmyra leaves.

The characters are often written in gold on black enamel, or in black on gold enamel or lacquer, whilst the margins and the ends of the leaves are decorated with flowers painted in bright colours. A hole through both ends of the leaf serves to connect the whole into a volume by means of two cords, which also pass through similar holes in the two boards forming the binding. In the finer bindings the boards are beautifully lacquered, and in some cases are of ebony inlaid with ivory or mother of pearl. The edges of the leaves are cut smooth and gilt, whilst the title is written upon the upper board. The two boards are secured by a knot, sometimes by a jewel, at each end of the cord to prevent the volume from falling apart, but sufficiently distant from each other to allow of the leaves being turned over. The more elegant books are further wrapped in silk cloth, and bound by a garter in which the title is ingeniously woven.

The ordinary method of writing was to scratch or engrave the characters upon the surface of the leaf by means of a sharp instrument ; staining fluid composed of a mixture of oil and pulverised charcoal was then rubbed into the scratched or bruised portions of the leaves, and it is not unlikely that the scented oil employed acted as a preservative. Some of the more elaborate manuscripts have been lacquered in gold in a most gorgeous manner.

In Europe the leaves of plants and trees are not generally of the tough character of those which grow in the tropics, but there is little doubt they were used in ancient Greece and Italy, since classical writers make reference to this form of record.

It is supposed by some authorities that the "Sybilline Books" were inscribed on leaves, Vergil (*Aen.* iii. 443). At Syracuse and also at Athens leaves were used for votes of expulsion. Diodorus Siculus relates that the judges of Syracuse were accustomed to write on leaves of the olive tree the names of such persons as were condemned to banishment. This sentence was termed *πεταλισμος* = petalism, from the Greek word *πεταλόν*.

Two of our most familiar terms are derived from this very substance and form, since the Greek word for leaf *φύλλον* and the Latin word *folium* have given us the terms *leaf* and *folio*.

BARK. Bark was very much better adapted for writing than leaves, and was probably used extensively by the Greeks and the Romans. The Latin term *liber* originally signified bark, but it later became the term for the roll or book which was made from it, whence is derived our term *library*.

The inner bark or skin of the lime tree (Pliny, *N.H.* xvi. 14) seems to have been generally chosen as most suitable, and it is not improbable that rolls made from lime-bark were co-existent in Rome with those made from papyrus, after the introduction of the latter material, but the home-made bark must soon have given way and disappeared before the imported Egyptian papyrus, which had so many qualities to recommend it.

The inner bark of a local tree, folded like a screen, was employed by the Battas, a people inhabiting the central highlands of Sumatra, mostly subjugated by the Dutch. Their books are written either on this bark or on bamboo, in *batak*, the term by which their language is known. These books consist of calendars, and so-called medicine books connected with their religion of demon and ancestor worship. The use of bamboo continues to-day, and it is not unlikely that bark is also in use. A number of examples in both forms are to be found in the Rylands Library, including a quite modern example on bamboo.

In India and North America birch-bark was employed.

BAMBOO. That leads us to bamboo, which was used at a very early period in China to receive writing. Indeed, slips of wood and slips of bamboo were used side by side. The bamboo was cut into strips about nine inches long and

wide enough for a single column of characters. The wood was often in the same form but wider. The bamboo strips being tougher than wood were capable of being perforated at one end and strung together either with silken cords or with leathern thongs, like, and probably the indirect origin of the bamboo fan, so as to form books. Both materials are described in early Chinese writings, and the abundance of wooden and bamboo slips dug up in the recent excavations in Turkestan, some of which are to be seen in the British Museum, conform to this description.

From one authority we learn that when the philosopher Me-ti travelled from state to state he carried with him three cart-loads of bamboo books. We also learn that whenever the Chinese wished to send information to a distance the slips of bamboo were wrapped in a piece of silk and impressed with a clay seal. Another authority tells us that from the beginning of the invention of Chinese writing down to the third and fourth centuries B.C. bamboo was used, and that the material used in the making of books was at first limited to bamboo and silk.

In later times, as already stated, the bamboo pole was employed by the Battas. The characters were scratched around the surface of the pole, which was cut into lengths varying from six inches to six feet.

Potsherds or fragments of pottery came ready to the hand in Egypt, where earthenware vessels were the most common kind of household utensils. From the rubbish heap they not infrequently made their way once more to the humble homes of the proletariat, there to be used as writing materials. They were popular throughout the Mediterranean world, the Nile Valley, and Greece. All sorts of alphabets are represented: the hieroglyphic, the hieratic, and demotic scripts, besides Greek, Latin, Aramaic, Coptic, Arabic, and Hebrew. At present Greek examples are the most numerous, ranging from the time of the first Ptolemies (323 B.C.) down to the beginning of the Arab occupation (A.D. 639), a period of a thousand years.

The texts with which they are inscribed are of the most miscellaneous kind: receipts, letters, contracts, bills, directions



as to payments, decrees, and extracts from classical authors. The greater number that we possess, however, are tax receipts.

These potsherds are known as *ὄστρακα*, a term which literally means fragments of earthenware, or tiles, from which our own term "ostracism" has been derived, meaning to exclude from society, favour, or common privileges, in other words, "to send a person to Coventry." These *ostraka* are documents belonging to the lower orders of the people, because the potsherd was the cheapest writing material, obtainable free of cost from the nearest rubbish heap.

For this reason it was admirably adapted to the purpose of recording the votes of the populace in cases of banishment. If a man had made himself objectionable to the community, either by being dangerously powerful or unpopular, votes for his expulsion or ostracism were recorded, often on fragments of broken vases or utensils which had been used in the temple services and which were given out specially for the occasion.

The use of this material was beneath the dignity of the well-to-do, and there are instances of apology for the use of an *ostrakon* because of a temporary lack of papyrus. As a rule, the texts of the *ostraka* are quite innocent of literary interest, although actual examples bearing the names of Xanthippus and Themistocles have been found at Athens.

It is true that Biblical texts are to be found on some examples, and it is possible they have been used as curative amulets, or as amulets against demoniacal possession. They were also used as cheap lectionaries, perhaps they were copied out by poor candidates for deacon's orders at the command of the bishop, but they represented the writing material of the poor. Diogenes Laertius (vii. 174) cites the case of Cleanthes, who was forced by poverty to write on potsherds and the shoulder blades of oxen.

For educational purposes tiles were also employed, upon which alphabets and verses had been scratched with a stylus before baking.

Linen was used at an early period by the Egyptians, upon  
 LINEN. which were painted and written portions of the ritual  
 of the "Book of the Dead."

The most notable linen manuscript that has survived is one

now in the Agram Museum, which contains the largest specimen of the Etruscan writing that is known to exist. It was found in strips wrapped round a late Egyptian mummy.

There are many references to this material by such Roman historians as Pliny (Nat. Hist., xiii. 11), Livy (x. 38), and in the "Codex Theodosiani" (xi. 27. 1). It is supposed, by some authorities, that the "Sibylline Books" were *libri lintei*, but by others palm leaves are thought to have been the material. These traditions, however, are very uncertain.

Silk was used as a writing material in Mesopotamia in the early Mohammedan period, before the Arabs started to use papyrus rolls. For this purpose white silk was dipped in gum and polished with a shell.

It has been suggested that the use of silk was derived from India, but, as silk both in India and in Mesopotamia was imported from China, it seems highly probable that the art of preparing silk as a writing material went back originally to a Chinese origin, where its use as a writing material quickly gave way to paper after its invention at the commencement of the second century of our era, but it remains still in use to some extent, as a material for painting, so that it has never been entirely displaced.

Turning back the pages of history we find that silk was one of the first, if not actually the first, of China's great gifts to the western world. For many centuries before the commencement of the Christian era, how many it is impossible for us even to surmise, China kept the process of silk culture a profound secret. So carefully was the secret guarded that the Romans, who were China's most important customers, believed it to be a vegetable product. Vergil in his "Georgics" (ii. 121) describes it as being combed from trees.

There is now little doubt that this was China's chief article of export, and Rome's need of silk was the key to the development of the great caravan route that crossed Turkestan, Persia, and Syria, and reached the Mediterranean at the ports of Phoenicia and Palestine. This was the route along which the supplies of silk passed not only throughout the Near and Far East, but also to Rome and the western world for many centuries before China's secret of its culture leaked out.

The story of this leakage is worth recalling. Through the closing of the silk routes by the Sassanian power in Persia, out of fear of the fast growing Turkish kingdom in the north-east, the silk trade was interrupted. Whereupon the Emperor Justinian (A.D. 527-565) endeavoured to open a new route through India and Abyssinia which should avoid Persia, but the plan was frustrated owing to the lethargy of the King of Abyssinia. About this time an embassy from the Khan of the Turks reached Rome, the outcome of which was that a return embassy was sent to the Turkish court in Turkestan, and an alliance was formed with the object of compelling Persia to allow a resumption of the silk trade.

In the meantime some Nestorian priests returning to Rome from the Far East brought to Justinian the astounding news that silk was not "combed from trees," but was produced by caterpillars, whose eggs they believed they could obtain. With the encouragement of the Emperor they returned to China, or more likely to Khotan in Chinese Turkestan, where it is known that silk culture was introduced in A.D. 419, and obtained a supply of silkworms' eggs which they hid in a long bamboo pole carried by one of the priests as a staff. From those eggs, if the story told by Procopius and Theophanes is to be credited, and there is no reason to doubt it, although one says they were brought from the "Land of Seres," whilst the other says India, are descended all the silkworms that have been reared in Europe down to the present time. But it was not until the Crusades that the art of silk culture became known in western Europe. It was first introduced into Italy in the twelfth century, and into France in the fourteenth century.

Plates or tablets of lead were employed by the Greeks and  
 METALS: the Romans at a very early date. Pausanias, the  
 LEAD. Greek historian (ix. 31. 4) states that at Helicon he saw a leaden plate on which were inscribed the works, or part of the works, of Hesiod. That would be in the second century. At Dodona, in Greece, leaden tablets were found upon which were inscribed petitions to the oracles, in some cases with their answers. Many other examples bearing charms against evil spirits have been found at Athens and other parts



of Greece, at Cyprus, at Carthage, in Dalmatia, and also in this country, notably at Bath.

It was the custom to bury these leaden charms and incantations with the dead, and such as have been found in this country are relics from the time of the Roman occupation.

For purposes of record lead seems to have been employed to some extent until far into the Middle Ages, since leaden plates inscribed with historical and diplomatic records, connected with Venice and Bologna, are still in existence, which belong to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Montfaucon (*Palæogr. Græca*, 16, 181) mentions and gives an illustration of a leaden book apparently connected with magic.

Unfortunately, lead is not a very durable material, for it is highly sensitive to chemical action and is liable to rapid disintegration, which accounts for the corroded condition of many of the tablets that have been recovered.

The use of bronze by the Greeks and Romans, as a material upon which to engrave votive inscriptions, laws, treaties, and other official documents, is established by various authorities. The famous "Laws of the Twelve Tables" were engraved upon bronze, and were suspended outside the Capitol at Rome. They most probably perished in the fire which took place in the reign of the Emperor Vespasian, consuming the Capitol and destroying three thousand tablets of bronze or brass containing the laws, treaties, and other important documents of the Roman Empire.

Roman military diplomas, *tabulæ honestæ missionis*, which were given to veteran soldiers conferring upon them the rights of citizenship and marriage, were also engraved on bronze plates. They consisted of two square plates hinged together with rings, very much as the multiple tablets were. The deed itself was engraved upon the inner side of the two plates, which were then securely fastened together by wire passed through holes drilled in the rim, and bound round them. The diploma was sealed on the outside of one of the two plates with the seals of the witnesses, whose names were engraved thereon, whilst on the other plate the deed was repeated either in full or in abstract. In case the outer copy should be called into question

METALS:  
BRONZE OR  
BRASS.

the seals were broken and reference was made to the deed inside, in this way obviating the necessity of having recourse to the official copy, which was kept in the temple of Augustus at Rome.

The precious metals were but seldom used as writing materials. Plutarch (*Quæst. Conviv.*, v. 2-10) mentions a golden book in the Treasury of the Sicyonians at Delphi, the offering of a poetess who had been victorious in the Isthmian games, and which probably contained some of her verses.

METALS:  
GOLD AND  
SILVER.

For purposes of working a charm, when the persons most interested could afford the outlay, there is evidence that in order to attain his or her ends thin plates of gold or silver were recommended. This practice is paralleled by the crossing of the palm of the hand with gold or silver as enjoined by the gypsy fortune-teller in recent times.

It is not surprising to find that skins of animals have been employed from very early times as writing material, by reason of their tough and durable nature. But, until about the second century B.C., only one side of the skin was prepared to receive writing. This was the hair side, whilst the flesh side was left in its rough natural state.

Such skins were in use among the Egyptians as early as the time of Cheops, in the fourth dynasty (*circa* 2800-2700 B.C.), for documents written on skins are referred to or copied in papyri of a later date, and actual specimens are extant. In the British Museum is a ritual on white leather, which is dated about the year 2000 B.C.

The Jews followed the same custom, and throughout their history employed skins of goats, sheep, calves, and possibly antelope, for the sacred Rolls of the Law. Indeed, they continue to the present day to employ them for their synagogue rolls, which must not be printed.

Their neighbours, the Phoenicians, also availed themselves of the same kind of writing material. Diodorus Siculus (ii. 32) tells us that the Persians inscribed their history on skins. Herodotus (v. 58) refers to the use of skins among the Ionian Greeks, and adds that in his day many foreign nations also wrote on them.

LEATHER.

Considering the durable nature of skins it may appear surprising that in spite of the early use of this material by the Jews for their sacred rolls, the earliest roll or even fragment of a roll that has come down to us is no earlier than the ninth century A.D. This is to be accounted for by the fact that age does not impart any authority to the Jewish roll. Such meticulous care was exercised in the transcription of the sacred rolls, that every copy possessed the same authority as its predecessor, from which it had been copied, as soon as it had passed the scrutiny of the examiner, and had been consecrated to the sacred service of the synagogue.

In the "Talmud" most minute regulations are laid down for the guidance of the scribe in the preparation of the sacred books, especially the synagogue rolls, in order to secure perfect accuracy in the transcription. A synagogue roll had to be written on the skins of clean animals prepared for the particular use of the synagogue by a Jew. These had to be fastened together with strings taken from clean animals. Every skin must contain a certain number of columns, which must be equal throughout the roll. The length of such column must not extend over less than forty-eight or more than sixty lines, and the breadth must consist of thirty letters. The whole copy must be first lined, and if three words be written in it without a line it is worthless. The ink must be black, neither red, green, or any other colour, and must be prepared according to a definite receipt. An authentic copy must be the exemplar from which the transcriber must not in the least deviate. No word or letter, not even a *yod*, must be written from memory without his having looked at the roll before him, and it must be repeated aloud before being set down. This rule was to preserve the scribe from the danger of the mind wandering from the work in hand, because the sound of the voice keeps the mind alert and fixed upon the work.

It was in this way that the text of the Old Testament was kept free from corruption. This extreme care was a guarantee against errors creeping in. This same care is responsible for the disappearance of the earlier copies. When a manuscript had been copied with the exactitude prescribed in the "Talmud,"



and had been duly verified, it was accepted as authentic and regarded as of equal value with any other copy. If all were equally correct age gave no advantage to a manuscript, on the contrary, age was a positive disadvantage, since a manuscript was liable to become defaced or damaged in the lapse of time. A damaged or imperfect copy was at once condemned as unfit for use, and was banished to the genizah, a lumber chamber attached to every synagogue, in which defective manuscripts were laid aside.

It follows, therefore, that far from regarding an older copy of the Scriptures as more valuable, the Jewish habit has been to prefer the newer as being the most perfect and free from damage. The older copies once consigned to the genizah naturally perished, either from neglect or from being deliberately buried when that receptacle became overcrowded.

We now come to the three materials which from their greater abundance and convenience have each in turn displaced all others. They are papyrus, vellum or parchment, and paper.

The Egyptians, looking around them for a substitute for PAPHYRUS. stone, found upon the banks of the Nile a tall water plant in the nature of a bulrush, every particle of which had been used for domestic purposes, and from which might be made an excellent and portable writing material.

This plant, which supplied the substance from which was made the principal writing material of the ancient world, was widely cultivated in the Delta of the Nile, in the marshes and shallows by the sides of the streams in Syria, Nubia, and Abyssinia. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xiii. 74 *sqq.*) gives a detailed account of how papyrus was treated by the Egyptian factories.

Its Greek name *πάπυρος*, whence the Latin *papyrus*, was derived from one of its ancient Egyptian names, *P-apa*. Herodotus (v. 58), our most ancient authority for any details of the purposes for which the plant was employed, always speaks of it as *βύβλος* or *βίβλος*, from which the Latin *biblia*, at first a neuter plural and later a feminine singular noun, and our own *Bible* are derived.

Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant*, iv. 10) describes the plant, which botanically is *Cyperus papyrus*, as growing to the height of six feet, with a triangular and tapering stem of about the thickness of a man's wrist at the thickest part, crowned with a tufted head. The tufted heads were used for garlands in the temples of the gods. From the wood of the root various utensils were made, and from the inner pith of the stem, which was of a soft, white, spongy or cellular character, not only was the writing material made, but it was also used as an article of food by the common people. From the thin green fibrous rind, which enclosed the pith, a variety of useful articles were made, including caulking-yarn, ships' rigging, light skiffs, shoes, etc. The cable with which Ulysses bound the door of the hall when he slew the suitors of his wife was made of this material. Homer (*Ody.*, xxi. 390) refers to it as ὄπλον βύβλινον, that is a cable or rope of papyrus.

The mode of preparing the writing material, described by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xiii. 12) as practised in his days, was no doubt the same that had been followed for centuries.

The stem was cut into convenient pieces of about a foot in length, the rind having been peeled off, the pith was very evenly cut vertically into thin slices (the Greek term for the slice is τόμος, whence is derived the Latin word *tomus*, and our own word *tome*, which literally means "a slice of a work"). These slices were laid side by side, their edges just touching, without overlapping, on the smooth surface of a table, which was slightly inclined to allow the superfluous sap to run off as it was squeezed out by the gentle blows from a smooth wooden mallet ; a second layer of slices or strips was then laid crosswise on the first, so that the slices of the second layer were at right angles with the first. The beating process was then repeated, care being taken to get rid of all lumps or irregularities until the various slices were thoroughly amalgamated. For the better qualities of papyrus, it is said that these processes were repeated a third and sometimes a fourth time, but specimens are rare in which more than two layers are found. The material was then pressed and dried in the sun, after which the sheets were carefully smoothed and polished with an ivory or shell burnisher, the

rough edges were trimmed, and it was then ready to be made up into rolls.

The joining was very skilfully done by workmen, who in Pliny's time were called *glutinatores* from *glutino* = to glue or paste together. In this way rolls of twenty, thirty, and even forty feet in length were made up. It is recorded that some rolls were 150 feet in length, and would contain the whole of the books of the "Iliad" or the "Odyssey." Clearly this great bulk must have been a great inconvenience, and we have evidence that the discomfort of it was felt. Callimachus, the librarian of the great Alexandrian Libraries,<sup>1</sup> said to have contained 600,000 rolls which he catalogued and arranged, complained that μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακόν, which may be interpreted "unwieldy rolls cause excessive trouble." He must have had to deal with enormous masses of unwieldy old rolls, and have suffered much as we do to-day in consequence of the large and unwieldy folios, especially if they are not furnished with an index. It has been suggested that we owe to Callimachus, in a great measure, the sub-division of ancient Greek works into books. Writers were induced to divide their works into such portions as could be contained in a convenient sized roll. Hence, the division of the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey" into books, each of which would fill a convenient sized roll. The Latin writers seem to have followed this example, and divided their works into books in the same way.

In rolls as in books the writing was arranged in columns. The reader would take the roll in his right hand, open it with his left hand and commence to read from left to right with the first column, rolling up with his left hand the portion read as he proceeded, and at the same time unrolling the portion containing the succeeding columns. The reader would probably

<sup>1</sup> There were two libraries at Alexandria; the larger in the Bruchium quarter was in connection with the Museum, a sort of academy, while the smaller was called the Serapeum. The number of volumes or rolls in these libraries was very large, although it is difficult to ascertain with any degree of certainty what were the actual figures; one authority who seems to have drawn his information from the authority of Callimachus and Eratosthenes who had been librarians tells us there were 42,800 volumes or rolls in the Serapeum and 490,000 in the Bruchium.



have two or three columns open before him as he read. Some of our earliest vellum codices of the Bible bear traces of their descent from the roll in the number of columns which each of the pages show. Thus the "Codex Vaticanus" shows three columns to a page or six columns at an opening, whilst the "Codex Sinaiticus" shows four columns to a page or eight columns at an opening. The columns in Greek were called δελίδες, a word which originally referred to the gangways between the banks of rowers in a trireme. This was transferred to the space between the columns of writing, then to the columns themselves, and finally when the codex had ousted the roll, to the pages of the book itself.

The outside of the roll was naturally that part which was most exposed to risk of damage and general wear and tear, so that the best sheets were reserved for this position, and in order further to strengthen it and to prevent it from tearing, a protecting strip of the same material, and later a strip of parchment, was pasted down the edge at the beginning and end of the roll. The first sheet of a papyrus roll was called the *προτόκολλον*, a term which still survives in diplomacy as the *protocol*, meaning "the opening." The last sheet was called the *ἐσχατόκολλον*, meaning the last or extreme section. The stem of the term is derived from *κόλλα*, meaning glue.

In some cases the roll was provided with a wrapper of parchment when not in use, which could be made ornamental by colouring like the binding of modern books. Of more practical importance was the little slip of papyrus or vellum attached to and projecting from the roll, and bearing the title of the work. Such slips were known as *σίλλυβοι*, *tituli*.

Papyrus rolls are represented on the sculptured walls of Egyptian temples, and rolls themselves exist which are of great antiquity. One of the most ancient now extant is the "Papyrus Prisse" at Paris, named after Monsieur Prisse d'Avennes, who found it at Thebes, and presented it to the Bibliothèque Nationale. It may be assigned to the period about 2200 B.C. According to the information contained in the roll, the treatises consisted of a collection of moral precepts compiled for the benefit of the children of one of the rulers of the end of the

Third Dynasty (about 3100 B.C.). It may be said, therefore, that we have actual examples which take us back to the fourth millennium.

It follows, therefore, that papyrus was certainly in use in Egypt as early as 3000 B.C., but we are unable to say how much earlier. It continued to be the ordinary or common writing material in that part of the world until the middle of the tenth century after Christ. The Assyrians were also acquainted with it, and called it "the reed of Egypt." In the Assyrian wall sculptures in the British Museum there are scenes in which scribes are represented as taking notes, of whom one is using a roll.

The Egyptian examples are, as a rule, of a ceremonial or ritual type, such as copies of the "Book of the Dead" which were to be buried in the tomb of some rich owner and often ran to lengths approaching or exceeding 100 feet. The largest extant papyrus roll is the "Harris Papyrus" (B.M. 9999) in the British Museum, written about 1200 B.C., which measures 133 feet in length and 17 inches in height. It is a chronicle of the reign of Rameses II.

The smallest example of the "Book of the Dead" is in the Rylands Library. It measures rather less than 5 feet in length and 13 inches in height. Within that small compass the soul's journey to the other world is pictorially and textually described.

Papyrus was the vehicle by which Greek literature was preserved and transmitted from the earliest times until the second or third century of the Christian era. It was certainly the common writing material at the time of Our Lord, and there is little doubt that the originals of the Gospels and the Epistles were written upon this material. One of the earliest surviving Greek papyri is an almost perfect roll, containing the "Persae" of Timotheus, the poet musician, contemporary of Alexander, of about 300 B.C., which is preserved in Berlin. But within recent years several earlier examples have been discovered. In the Rylands Library are the two earliest known fragments of biblical papyri, a fragment of Deuteronomy in Greek of the second century B.C., and a fragment of St. John's Gospel of the first half of the second century A.D.

In Europe, long after vellum had become the principal writing material, especially for literary purposes, papyrus continued in common use particularly for ordinary documents, such as letters. St. Jerome (*Ep.*, vii.) mentions vellum as a material for letters if papyrus fails, and St. Augustine (*Ep.*, xv.) apologises for using vellum instead of papyrus. Papyrus was plentiful in Rome during the Empire, in fact, it was the common writing material among the Romans at that period. Examples of Latin papyri have survived in book form, sometimes a few leaves of vellum have been incorporated in order to give stability. Several papal bulls on this material are known, the earliest of which is one of Pope Stephen III, dated 757, and the latest is of Pope Sergius IV, with the date 1011. In France papyrus was in common use in the sixth century A.D., and it was used for official documents even later. Several deeds, dated 625 and 692 respectively, are still preserved in the French archives.<sup>1</sup>

Unfortunately, of all possible materials for permanent record papyrus is amongst the worst. The effect of time upon it is to make it as dry and brittle as dead autumn leaves, so that it can be crumpled into dust. The dry atmosphere of Egypt has been specially favourable to the preservation of these fragile documents. Buried with the dead, they have lain for centuries in the tombs or have been swathed in the folds of the mummy cloths, untouched by hands, and in many cases they remain as fresh as the day when they were written. Now, when exposed to the air, they rapidly disintegrate and crumble, so that it has become the practice, as they are unrolled, to place them between two sheets of glass, the edges of which are bound with leather or cloth, so that they are hermetically sealed up, and may, under normal conditions, in that way be preserved for all time.

It is feared that the building of the great Nile dams in Egypt, which have had the effect of raising the damp level, and in that way of benefiting the country by extending the area of cultivation, will be disastrous to any papyrus rolls which may still

<sup>1</sup> In the Rylands Library is a Latin papyrus of the sixth-seventh century, measuring six feet long and about a foot wide. It relates to a deed of gift to a church in Ravenna.



be buried in the sand, for the moment the damp level reaches them they become so much pulp, and are irreclaimable.

Side by side with papyrus another material was used, which PARCHMENT OR VELLUM. was destined entirely to supersede its older rival. It has been suggested that wherever papyrus was unobtainable use was made of the skins of goats, sheep, lambs, and calves. The skins were washed and scraped so as to remove the hairs, then rubbed with pumice and dressed with chalk so as to produce a smooth surface. For the sacred books of the Jews the more durable material was employed.

It has been pointed out already that when the ordinary material failed, a substitute was invariably extemporised, and it is thought that the introduction of parchment or vellum, in other words, of skins prepared in such a way that both sides could be written upon, was to meet such an emergency.

The story told by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xiii. 11), on the authority of Varro, is that Eumenes II, King of Pergamum (197-158 B.C.), wishing to extend the library in his capital was opposed by the jealousy of the Ptolemies, who forbade the export of papyrus, hoping thus to check the growth of a rival library. The king of Pergamum, thus thwarted, fell back upon the use of skins, but under his direction the preparation of the skins was so improved that both sides could be used for writing, instead of only one side as had been the case under the old method. The story is now generally discredited, but it points, at least, to the fact that the manufacture of this material was so stimulated about the time to which the story refers, that Pergamum became the chief centre of the parchment or vellum trade. Unfortunately, no vestige of the Pergamene library remains, and no reference to its contents is made by early or contemporary authorities. It is said that Mark Anthony carried it off to Alexandria and presented it to Cleopatra, but there is no reference to it in authorities of the time.

Recent discoveries go to prove that this material was in use in the earliest years of the reign of Eumenes at a spot so far distant from Pergamum as to show that its first use cannot be due to the Pergamene king.

The names *διφθέραι* and *membranae*, which had been applied

to the earlier *skins*, was extended also to the new manufacture. The title *Membrana Pergamena* is comparatively late, since its first occurrence is in an edict of Diocletian of A.D. 301. There is little doubt, however, that the term *parchment* is in some obscure way derived from *Pergamum*. *Vellum* is derived from *vitulus*, meaning a calf.

As to the early use of vellum among the Greeks and Romans we have no proof in the nature of actual examples. No specimens have been recovered from Herculaneum or Pompeii, but there can be little doubt that it was imported into Rome under the Empire, and once at Rome its diffusion over the whole civilised world was assured. The earliest vellum manuscripts that have come down to us are: a fragment of Demosthenes of the second century in the British Museum, a Vergil of the third century in the Vatican, and a codex of the "Odyssey" of the third century in the Rylands Library. The earliest vellum codices on the large scale are the earliest Greek manuscripts of the Bible: the "Codex Vaticanus" in the Vatican, and the "Codex Sinaiticus" in the British Museum, both of which belong to the fourth century.

From the dearth of classical specimens, and from the scanty number of early mediæval manuscripts of secular authors which have come down to us it may be assumed that vellum was not a common writing material under the first Roman emperors. Papyrus had been so long the recognised material for literary use that the slow progress of vellum as its rival may be partly ascribed to natural conservatism. The supremacy of papyrus remained unbroken until the beginning of the fourth century, and its supersession at that date by vellum appears to be closely connected with the advance of Christianity to be the accepted faith of the Empire, after its recognition by the Emperor Constantine in A.D. 312.

In the earlier centuries of our era vellum was employed for note-books and for inferior copies of works of literature, but papyrus was the aristocrat among books, and was probably by far the commoner material for books of all classes. The *μεμβράναι* for which St. Paul asked (2 Tim. iv. 13) may have been either note-books or copies of the Hebrew Scriptures

for which leather was the usual material. When Martial (l. 1. 4), towards the end of the first century, wants to describe a vellum book, he specifically uses the word *membranis*. He does not think it necessary to say that a book is on papyrus; that is taken for granted, unless the contrary is stated, and is implied in casual allusions.

The superiority of vellum over papyrus consisted in the first place in its greater durability, and secondly in the fact that it was procurable in any country, whereas the papyrus plant could be cultivated only in a very limited area. These qualities enabled it gradually to overcome the natural conservatism, and to outstrip its older rival in popular favour. There is little doubt that it was the influence of the Christian Church which ultimately carried vellum into the front rank of writing materials, and in the end it displaced papyrus.

As papyrus had been the principal material for receiving the thoughts of the pagan world, vellum was to be the great medium for conveying to mankind the literature of the new religion. The durability of the vellum recommended it to an extent to which the fragile papyrus could in no way pretend.

Eusebius (*Vit. Const.*, iv. 36) tells us that when the Emperor Constantine embraced Christianity and required copies of the Scriptures of the Christians for his newly founded Christian churches in Constantinople, he ordered fifty manuscripts on vellum to be prepared, and St. Jerome (*Ep.* cxli.) refers to the replacement of damaged volumes in the library of Pamphilius at Cæsarea by manuscripts on vellum.

The character and appearance of vellum underwent changes at different periods. At one time it was thin and delicate, then it was firm and crisp, now it had a smooth glossy surface, then it would change to a rough appearance, and again to a highly polished surface. Early English and Irish manuscripts are generally on a stouter vellum than their contemporaries abroad. In Italy a highly polished surface seems to have been in favour. In contrast to this very soft vellum is to be found in England, France, and Northern Europe from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. The Italian vellum of the fifteenth century is often of extreme whiteness and purity. Uterine



vellum taken from the unborn young, or consisting of the skins of new-born animals, such as lambs, kids, and calves, was used for special purposes, and copies of Bibles of a very small size are extant written on vellum so fine that it is no thicker than the finest tissue paper. Several such manuscripts are preserved in the Rylands Library.

Vellum also lent itself to ornamentation, for its surface showed off colours in all their brilliancy in a way that was not possible to papyrus.

As the use of vellum extended all sorts of extravagant practices were introduced, which led to writing the most valuable books in gold and silver inks on leaves of vellum stained with a rose-coloured purple dye. The chief employment of this luxurious writing was to preserve copies of the Gospels and other books of Holy Scripture, of which many extremely valuable specimens are extant. Manuscripts in silver characters are of more rare occurrence than such as are in gold. This may be accounted for by the additional expense required for staining the vellum purple, in order to display the white metal, whereas manuscripts in gold were executed both on white as well as on purple grounds. From the practice of writing in gold and silver letters the introduction of entirely gold grounds, having the characters traced thereon in black ink, seems to have been the result of the natural progress of Byzantine luxury. From the eighth to the eleventh century this practice was carried to the greatest possible excess.

The material destined to displace all others and to become the common writing material of the modern world was PAPER. paper. It was one of the most complete of China's inventions, and had been a fully developed art for something like a thousand years before it set out upon its triumphal journey to the West.

In the dynastic records of China the date of the invention of paper is carefully recorded as A.D. 105, and Ts'ai Lung is given as the name of the inventor, who has been deified as the god of the paper-makers. One ancient authority tells us that Ts'ai Lung manufactured paper out of old rags, fishing nets, bark, and hemp refuse, and that is why one of the terms for

paper, *ma-tche*, contains the radical for cloth or textile fabrics, whilst another, *kon-tche*, means bark paper.

In the history of the Han Dynasty, written about A.D. 470, it is stated that from the time of its invention paper was used universally, and other authorities confirm the statement that its spread throughout China was very rapid, and that it was called after its inventor *tsai-ho-tche*. The later paper-makers in China did not confine themselves to Ts'ai Lung's materials. In one province bamboo-shoots, in another mulberry tree bark, and in others willows, moss, corn and rice straw, hemp, cocoons, and plant fibres were employed for the making of wrapping, writing, and domestic papers, which were in general use in China for a thousand years before we knew anything about it in the western world. Sir Aurel Stein, in 1904, discovered certain letters in Turkestan, in one of the ruined towers of the great wall, which were written within fifty years of the date of the invention, upon what under microscopic examination has proved to be rag paper.

The actual operation of paper-making has been described by one authority, Tong Ya (chap. 32) as follows: The bark of the tchou tree is steeped in water to take away the yellow colour, it is then pounded and put into a vat full of water and allowed to foment, during which process a sticky scum or pulp forms upon the surface of the water. This is skimmed off with a large bamboo "blind" or mould, which, when dipped twice in the fluid produces a fine thin paper, while for a stout paper, the blind is dipped five or six times in succession. The leaves are then dried in a furnace. This process of manufacture does not differ materially from that employed by the early European makers, or from the present-day process of hand-made papers.

Three centuries after the invention in China, paper-making was introduced into Japan. Improvements were effected, and the use of the mulberry tree bark was introduced and has continued in use ever since.

The perfected Chinese invention was passed on to the Arabs at Samarkand in the eighth century. It came about in this way: war broke out between two Turkish chieftains in what is known

as Chinese Turkestan, in A.D. 751. One of the two chieftains appealed to China for help, while the other appealed to the Arabs. The Arabs succeeded in defeating the Chinese and in driving them back to the very frontiers of China, took many prisoners, among whom were some paper-makers. These were compelled to teach the secret of paper-making to their Arab captors, with the result that the manufacture grew and became for the people of Samarkand an important article of commerce. So widely did the traffic spread, that in the words of an Arab authority writing in A.D. 869, "the papyrus of Egypt was for the West what the paper of Samarkand was for the East."

In A.D. 793 a rival factory was set up at Baghdad, where Hārūn-al-Rashīd of "Arabian Nights" fame, introduced Chinese workmen for the starting of a paper-making plant.

The next centre was Damascus, which for several centuries was the main source of the European supply. This paper came to be known as *carta Damascena*.

It would have been quite an easy matter for the secret of paper-making to pass from Damascus into Europe, but it took quite another course, passing along the north of Africa and through Egypt, with the result that Egypt, early in the eighth century, adopted the manufacture, and it steadily displaced papyrus, which had been the common writing material on that continent for at least three thousand years. The Persian traveller, Nasiri Khorsan (A.D. 1035-1042), was amazed to see in Cairo grocers, fruiterers, and hardware sellers well supplied with paper, in which they wrapped the goods purchased before handing them to their customers, if they were not already so protected. It is obvious, therefore, that paper was abundant and cheap in Cairo nearly nine hundred years ago.

From Egypt the manufacture passed to Morocco at Fez about 1100, in the wake of the Moslem invasion and conquest, and thence into Spain, where it made its first appearance in Europe. For a century the manufacture remained in the hands of the Saracens, though Christians seem gradually to have learned the art as the Christian conquest advanced.

The first recorded paper mill in Christendom was set up in 1189 at Hérault on the French side of the Pyrenees, although



for still another century Europe's needs were largely supplied from the Saracen mills of Damascus and Spain.

It may be said, therefore, that paper-making was a Chinese monopoly for the first six hundred years of its history, a monopoly which was only broken down by the conquering Arabs, who had learned the secret from the Chinese at Samarkand. For the next five hundred years it was an Arab monopoly in the West, until they, in turn, taught the art to their conquerors in Spain.

Meanwhile paper was being imported into Europe by two other routes. Paper from Damascus was becoming an important article of commerce chiefly through Constantinople, and paper from Africa was entering through Sicily. It was probably by the latter route that the manufacture penetrated to Italy, in 1276, when the first mill was set up at Fabriano, near Ancona, on the north-east coast. The manufacture spread rapidly, and in the fourteenth century Italy soon rivalled, and then outstripped, Spain and Damascus as the source of Europe's supply.

In Germany the use of paper increased steadily during the fourteenth century, but it was not of native manufacture, being imported principally from Italy. Towards the end of that century South Germany was receiving its supplies from Venice and Milan, and the Rhineland from France, although the supply from Damascus had not altogether ceased. Nuremberg was the first place in Germany to set up a mill, and that was not done until 1391.

England obtained her supplies from France, Italy, and Germany down to 1494, when the first mill was established at Hertford, in Kent, by John Tate. This paper was used by the London printer Wynkyn de Worde for his English edition of Bartholomæus: "*De proprietatibus rerum*," as appears in the following lines of the colophon of that book:

"And John Tate the yonger Ioye mote he broke  
Which late hathe in Englonde doo make this paper thynne  
That now in our englyssh this boke is prynted Inne."

The work is not dated, but it appeared in or about the year 1496. The same paper is found in the "Golden Legend"

of the same printer, which is dated 1498. These are the only books known to have been printed on Tate's paper, which is distinguished by a water-mark representing an eight-pointed star within two concentric circles. The mill must have had a very brief existence for there is, at present, no evidence that it was at work after 1498, and this may probably be accounted for by the difficulty of making a good paper at a sufficiently low price to compete with foreign productions.

The feature by which oriental paper may be distinguished from the western variety is the absence in the former, and the presence in the latter, of the so-called *water-marks* or *filigranes*. The importance of these translucent marks to be found in European papers cannot be over-estimated, since, theoretically, every water-marked sheet of paper carries in itself its own birth-certificate, conveying evidence of the date and place of its manufacture.

Down to the middle of the eighteenth century these water-marks indicated size, quality, and source of the paper. The old paper-makers had a way of marking differences of quality by modifying their devices. For example, the ordinary quality would be marked with the coat-of-arms of the town where it was made, whilst a finer quality would have the same shield with heraldic supporters. In another case the cheaper kind was marked with an ox's head outlined without eyes, and the better quality would have the same design with the eyes showing.

The mould or frame with which the old paper was made, and which is still employed for the modern hand-made paper as distinguished from the machine-made variety, was in the form of an oblong shallow tray, the loose movable bottom of which was composed of a wirecloth, consisting of fine wires supported on the upper side by stouter perpendicular wires, which consequently were raised above the surface of the wirecloth. The wooden sides, or the frame of the mould, which forms the border of the mould and determines the width of the paper is known as the *deckle*, hence deckle-edged paper is paper with the natural untrimmed irregular edges. The mould proper is the wirecloth bottom of the tray, upon which the pulp settles as the water drains off. In the centre of one of the halves

of this mould, stout wires, as a rule of the same thickness as the supporting wires, were twisted into shapes, the variety of which is almost endless, such as animals, birds, fish, flowers, fruits, domestic and other implements, post-horns, letters of the alphabet, armorial bearings, to mention only a few. Some of these devices were peculiar to a country or district, others which apparently became very popular and remained in use for long periods were more widely distributed, although they were constantly being modified in some detail. These moulds were not of one uniform size, but varied according to the required size of the sheets, whether large folio or small folio.

The water-marks are formed in the following manner: the vatman dips up from the vat enough of the pulped material on the mould to fill the deckle. He then runs the pulped stuff evenly over the mould by a dexterous shake both along and across the mould, causing the water to drain through the cloth, while the pulp settles down on the upper surface. The regularity of the settlement is impeded by the raised wires of the device and the supports, and the paper in these parts is rendered thinner and less opaque, and the resulting translucent marks and lines can be read on holding the sheet up to the light.

These marks are of great importance to the bibliographer as they afford him criteria by means of which to determine the place and date of manuscripts or printed books. The position of the mark is almost uniformly in the centre of one of the halves of the unit or folio sheet, and the size of books printed on hand-made paper is determined by the position of the water-mark in association with the wire lines. The sheet folded in half, down the centre, gives the folio (2o) of two leaves, in which the lines will be perpendicular and the water-mark will be in the centre of one of the two leaves; folded again into four leaves it will give a quarto (4to), in which the lines will run horizontally and the water-mark will be in the middle of the back of two of the leaves; a third folding into eight leaves gives an octavo (8vo), in which the lines run perpendicularly and the water-mark will be found in the middle of the back at the top of four of the leaves; a fourth folding gives the sextodecimo (16mo), in which the lines run horizontally and the water-mark will be in the top



corner of four of the sixteen leaves of the sheet. Other sizes such as duodecimo (12mo) imply that the sheet has been folded in twelve, and so forth. It should be said, however, that this size did not come into vogue until the early part of the sixteenth century.

The earliest known water-mark, as already stated, is on paper used in the year 1293, and made at Fabriano, where the industry was established in or before 1276.

The question has often been asked "why these marks are found in European papers, and not in the oriental makes?" and it has been suggested that when the new material came to take the place of papyrus in Europe, it was an adaptation of the practice of marking on the outer edge of the papyrus roll the name of the local governor of the district where it was made. Oriental paper, on the other hand, was manufactured to resemble the vellum skins which it ultimately displaced, and had no such precedent to follow.

#### WRITING IMPLEMENTS AND INKS.

The earliest form of writing implement was the pointed flint flake or the sharpened bone with which primeval man scratched pictures and symbols on the walls of his cave-dwelling, upon pieces of reindeer horn, or upon blade bones of animals.

Later, when a more settled state of civilisation had been reached, came the *στῦλος* or *γραφεῖον*, i.e. *stilus* or *graphium*, the instrument made of iron, bronze, or other metal, ivory, bone, and other hard substances devised for impressing or scratching symbols and other characters upon tablets or cylinders of clay, upon slabs or obelisks of stone, upon waxed wood, bone, and ivory tablets, upon plates of metal and the leaves and bark of various trees. By the Sumerians, Babylonians, and Assyrians it was used in a blunt square punch-like form for impressing the wedge-shaped characters upon the surface of the clay tablets whilst they were still plastic. The wedges of which the characters are composed were formed by pressing one of its sharp corners into the clay. By the Greeks and Romans it was used in a sharpened form, the characters being scratched upon the surface of the waxed tablets with the pointed end. The other

end of the style was fashioned into a knob or flat head, wherewith the writing could be obliterated by smoothening the wax in case correction or erasure was necessary. Many of these implements are furnished with a sharp projection at right angles to the shaft, near the head, for the purpose of ruling lines on the wax. Several specimens in ivory, bone, and bronze have been found in Britain and elsewhere, some of which are now in the British Museum, and date from the period of the Roman occupation.

It is from this term *stilus* that our own modern terms *style* and *stiletto* have been derived. Its dagger shape suggests the latter derivation, but the use of it as a weapon is reported by many ancient writers, thus lending support to it. The Greek word *γραφεῖον*, which became *graphium* in Latin, is best interpreted by our word *graver*, since it must have represented the chisel or graver with which the inscriptions were cut upon the slabs or obelisks of stone employed by all the early peoples for their principal records.

The case in which these implements were kept was the *γραφιοθήκη* or *graphiarium*. The term is derived from *γράφω*, and *θήκη* = a box or case or chest. The Latin *armarium* was a chest or cupboard. Hence the term *bibliotheca* means literally a case or chest of books.

The invention of papyrus called for some other implement, and a reed was employed after it had been cut to the shape of a pen. The Greek and Latin terms for this reed pen were *κάλαμος* or *σχοῖνος*, and *calamus* or *canna*. Arrows were also made from this reed. In the language of the pedant we have a survival of this term when in speaking of a slip of the pen he describes it as a *lapsus calami*. These reed pens continued in use to some extent throughout the Middle Ages. In Italy they seem to have survived into the fifteenth century, and in Manchester they remain still in use in the offices of some of the Eastern merchants.

The steel barrel pen is usually regarded as a modern invention, but examples of metal reeds in the shape of bronze barrel pens have been found both in Italy and in Britain dating from the period of the Roman occupation.

The term pen is derived from the Latin *penna* meaning

*feather*, which is first heard of in the sixth century A.D., and refers to the quill-pen. It was probably devised as soon as vellum came into general use. The hard surface of the new material could bear the pressure of the pen, which in heavy strokes might have proved too much for the more fragile papyrus. The French term for pen, *plume*, connects that word with the plume of feathers. The German term, *Feder*, brings us still nearer to the feather or quill, so that the term "pen" carries us back to the time when bird-quills were first used in place of reeds for writing.

The case in which the reeds and other pens were kept appears to have been of leather. It was known as *καλαμοθήκη* or *calamarium*.

The brush with which writing in gold was applied was in Greek *κονδύλιον* and in Latin *peniculus* or *penicillus*, meaning literally "a little tail." Here we have the derivation of the French *pinceau*, and of our English *pencil*. Originally the term meant a small hair brush for painting, and that meaning we still retain when we speak of a small camel hair pencil.

For ruling lines on papyrus a circular disc of lead was used, *τροχόεις μόλιβδος*. The *κανών* or ruler, which served to keep the lines and columns straight, has given us our word *canon*. *σπόγγος* was the *sponge* used to remove ink from the papyrus, which would not bear scraping with a knife. If the ink was still wet or even lately applied its removal would be quite easy. Martial (iv. 10) sends a sponge with his newly written book of poems, so that the whole of the poems might be cleaned off if not approved. The Emperor Augustus effaced his half-completed tragedy of "Ajax" in this way (Suetonius, *Aug.*, 85). *κίσσηρις* was the piece of *pumice* used to smooth the nib of the reed pen and to rub away any roughness in the papyrus (Catullus, l. 2).

With the introduction of vellum the knife or eraser, *rasorium* or *novacula*, came into use. It was still possible to sponge away passages while the ink was still wet, but when it became dry and hard, and for the erasure of single letters without obliterating also the surrounding text, it was necessary to erase it or scrape it off. The *penknife* was the *σμίλη*, *γλύφανον*, or *γλυπτήρ*, and



in Latin *scalparum librarium* or *scalpellum*. With these the reeds were cut and sharpened. The Greek term *σμίλη* is a reminder of the expression "sharpening the countenance with a smile." The *pricker* or *compass* or *dividers* for spacing off the ruled lines and spaces, was *διαβάτης*, *circinus*, or *punctorium*. The office of the modern pencil was performed by the pointed piece of lead *μόλυβδος*, *plumbum*, or *plummet*.

Black was the ordinary writing fluid for many centuries, and in many countries, in varying degrees of blackness. In INKS. other words, the tint of the ink has differed at various periods and in various countries. In early manuscripts it is either pure black or slightly brown; in the Middle Ages it varies a good deal according to age and locality. In Italy and Southern Europe it was generally blacker than in the North; in France and Flanders it was generally darker than in England. A Spanish manuscript of the fourteenth or fifteenth century may usually be recognised by the peculiar blackness of the ink. Deterioration is observable in the course of time. The ink of the fifteenth century is often of a faded grey colour.

The ancients used the liquid of the cuttle fish. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xxxv. 6) mentions soot (evidently lamp-black) and gum as the ingredients of writing ink. By the use of ivory shavings a much more intense and beautiful black was obtained, but this was a costly process and would only have been employed for very important purposes. Here, probably, we have the origin of the term "ivory black." Later, gall-apples were used. Metallic infusions seem also to have been employed at an early period. In the Middle Ages vitriol was an ordinary ingredient. Theophilus, writing in the twelfth century (*De diversis artibus*, l. 40), gives a recipe for manufacturing ink from thorn wood boiled down and mingled with wine and vitriol.

In the Middle Ages inks of various colours were employed, notably red, blue, green, and yellow, but as a rule the unusual colours were only employed for purposes of decoration, although volumes written entirely or partially in coloured inks are extant.

Red, either as a pigment or as a fluid ink, is of very ancient and common use. It is to be found in the earliest Egyptian mummy cloths and papyri, and it appears in the earliest vellum

manuscripts. The Latin terms for this red ink or pigment are *minium* and *rubrica*. From *minium* our terms *miniature* and *miniaturist* are derived. The term has become distorted in its meaning, and is now often thought to mean a small picture, whereas it has reference to the red paint or pigment of which the ink is composed. A miniature is a painting in *minium*, and a miniaturist is a *miniator* or a *painter in minium*. *Rubrica* is also the ochre from which the red paint is made, and has given us our term *rubric*. The rubrics of the Prayer Books are the directions for the proper observance of the ritual or service there laid down, and in reality are the passages in red, so coloured to give them due prominence. In the Middle Ages, when the scribe had finished his work upon the text, it was the rubricator who took the manuscript in hand and inserted the red capitals and division marks in the spaces which had been left by the scribe for their accommodation. In other words "he rubricated the manuscript."

When we speak of an "illuminated" manuscript, the term illuminated means literally the lighting up of the page with coloured decoration, in the form of ornamental letters or painted miniatures. The earliest reference to the art of "illuminating" is to be found in the *Purgatorio*, xi, where Dante speaks of "the art which in Paris is called illuminating."

Purple ink was employed at Constantinople in the early Middle Ages for the exclusive use of the Emperors, and apparently was of a distinctive kind. It was known as *κιννάβαρις* (in some way connected with cinnamon) and *sacrum incaustum*. The Greek term appears later as a term synonymous with *minium*. Purple was a very costly dye at that time and consequently could only be used by wealthy patrons of the arts, and for the most gorgeous manuscripts of the Gospels.

But the costliness of this dye was not the only reason for its employment. In the early centuries of the Christian Church it was not uncommon to employ a good deal of gold in the writing of the Gospel and other books for church use. At first the titles of the divine persons were written in letters of gold, then the opening pages of each Gospel, and subsequently, whole books were written either in gold or in silver upon the white creamy-



tinted vellum. This was found to be unsatisfactory, for the gold and silver characters were not distinct, and it was discovered that by first staining the vellum with purple the characters were made beautifully distinct.

Several manuscripts of this sumptuous character have come down to us. One of the most famous is the "Codex Argenteus" at Upsala, which is of the sixth century, and contains the Gothic translation of the Gospels of Ulfilas, written in letters of silver. Another is the "Codex purpureus Rossanensis," a Greek Gospels of the sixth century, in silver letters, which is preserved at Rossano in south Italy. In Paris there is (or was) a Latin Gospel Book said to have been written for Charlemagne by Godescalc in letters of gold; and in the Douce collection of the Bodleian (Douce MS. 59) there is a Latin Psalter, written in golden Caroline minuscules and ornamented with miniatures. In the British Museum is the "Codex Aureus" (Harl. MS. 2755), a copy of the Gospels in uncial letters of the ninth century, and another (Harl. MS. 2797), which is a copy of the Gospels in minuscule writing of the ninth century from the monastery of St. Geneviève in Paris. The Pierpont Morgan Library, in New York, possesses the Golden Gospels of Henry VIII, known also as the Hamilton Palace Gospels, written in the ninth century in letters of gold, on vellum of varying shades of purple. It is said to have been given by Pope Leo X to Henry VIII, and was probably executed in the Palace School of Charlemagne. Another of the Pierpont Morgan treasures is a Latin Gospels of the ninth century written at Rheims, in which the entire text is written in gold.

In the Rylands Library are several copies of special parts of the *Qur'ān* written throughout in gold in letters of Maghribi or Kūfi hands of the ninth and tenth centuries.

Gold was used as a writing fluid at a very early period. In a papyrus at Leyden of the third or fourth century there is a recipe for its manufacture.

Gold writing as a practice died out in the thirteenth century, although a few isolated instances of a later date are found.

A still more sumptuous mode of decoration than even the purple staining was occasionally followed, which consisted of



covering the whole surface of the vellum with gold, but the expense must have been so great that it is not likely more than a few leaves in any manuscript would have been treated in this luxurious manner. Fragments of two such vellum leaves are preserved in the British Museum (Add. MS. 5111), which originally formed part of Greek tables of the Eusebian Canons, no doubt prefixed to a copy of the Gospels of the sixth century.

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